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proscribed by UKIP  
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campaigner  
LAST WORD p44

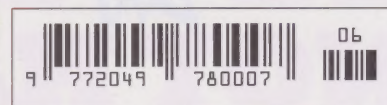


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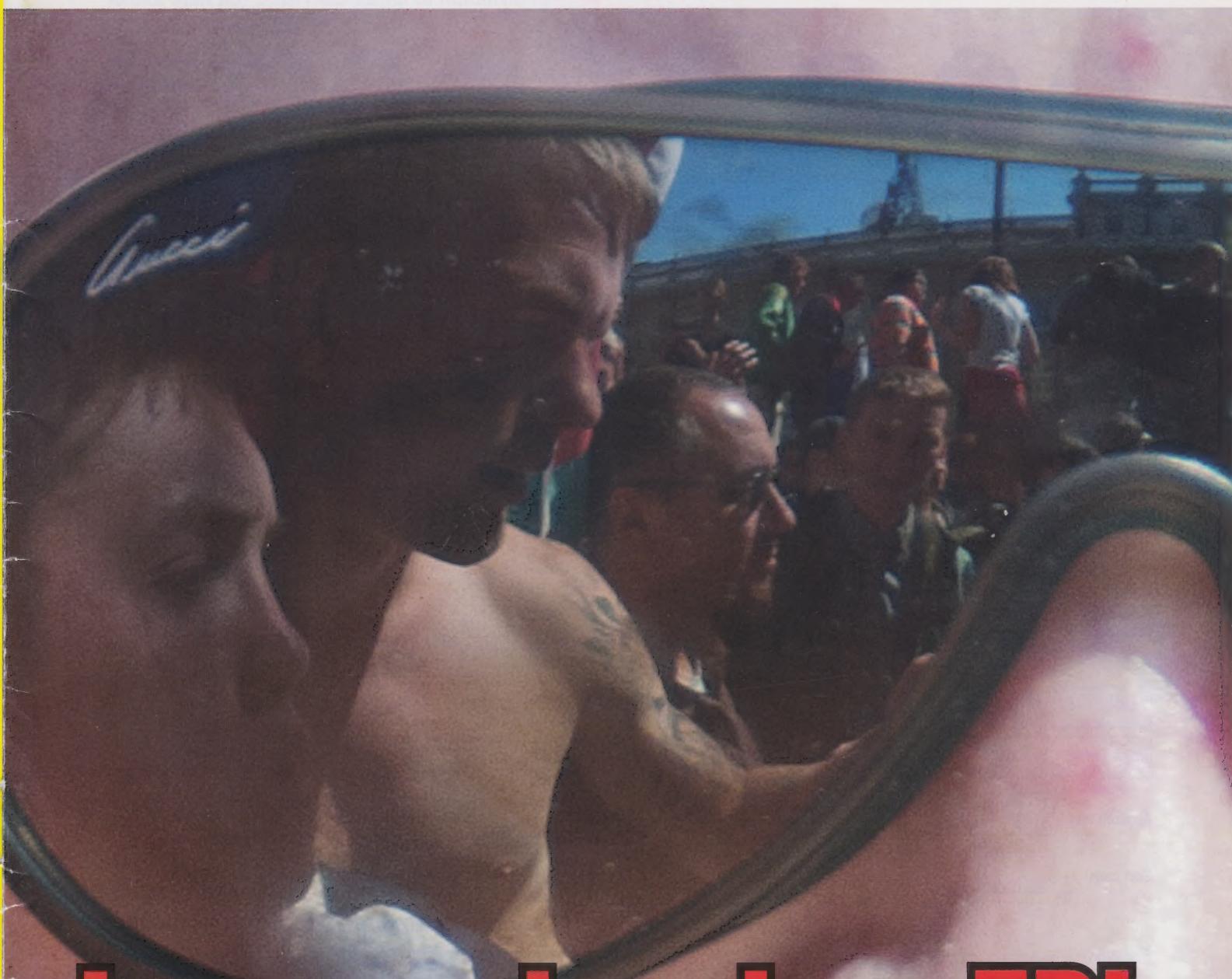
Providing a  
positive antidote  
to hate and intolerance

November-December 2013

Issue no. 11 Price £3.50



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## **Lennon abandons EDL** **But has he really changed?**



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# HOPE not hate

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## Nick Lowles

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## Jury still out

STEPHEN LENNON'S resignation from the English Defence League has caused bemusement, euphoria and even suspicion among his detractors and media commentators alike. As we explore in this magazine his apparent change of heart has not been matched by reality. He has certainly turned his back on leadership of the EDL but he is not distancing himself from the organisation or its supporters, many of whom he remains in contact with. More importantly, he does not appear to have moderated his views on Muslims and Islam either.

Until he does we, like others, will remain sceptical of the sincerity of his conversion and the decision of anti-extremist think tank Quilliam to sell it as the victory they did.

### THE THREAT OF THE LONE WOLF

The conviction of Pavlo Lapshyn for the murder of 82-year-old Mohammed Saleem and the planting of three bombs in the Black Country is a reminder of the ever-present threat of neo-nazi terrorism. Lapshyn was a Lone Wolf, in that he was not part of an organised group and he operated alone. Of course he was radicalised over the internet and motivated by previous acts of nazi terrorism and core texts such as the Turner Diaries.

While the authorities will rightly say that it is almost impossible to identify and prevent lone wolves carrying out terrorist acts they could, and should, do more to both understand the phenomenon and act against those pushing the theories of racist violence over the internet. For too long they have downplayed the cause and effect of such propaganda.

### CELEBRATE NOT DEMONISE

The publication of the Immigration Bill is the just the latest salvo in an

on-going battle on the part of the Government to be seen as acting tough on immigration. The Bill will limit migrant access to health care and force landlords and employers to check the immigration status of people.

This might appeal to the public who are increasingly hostile to new immigration but it is questionable if it will have the desired affect. One of the strongest attacks on the Bill came from the *Economist*, which wrote that it would have little impact of the half a million undocumented immigrants in the UK and, if anything, could increase the number here illegally.

In this issue we look at the issue of 'Health Tourism', which has become the latest stick used to beat immigrants. Unsurprisingly, it discovers that new migrants contribute significantly more to the tax and benefits system than they take out.

### SHOOTING THE MESSENGER

The decision by UKIP to proscribe HOPE not hate and label us an extremist group is a response to the increasing scrutiny we have placed on the anti-EU party. We do not oppose UKIP as a party and we have no position on whether Britain should remain in the European Union, but we will not stand by and let UKIP use anti-immigrant rhetoric and whip up racial prejudice.

Over the last six months we have exposed a worryingly large number of their organisers and elected officials for making racist and inflammatory comments. Rather than deal with their racists UKIP has decided instead to shoot the messenger. If they think that this will stop us, they are wrong. In deciding to proscribe us they are making us even more determined to continue to expose racism within their ranks.



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Dr Matthew Goodwin explores the on-going threat of lone wolf nazi terrorism



### PAUL MESZAROS

Paul Meszaros, from HOPE not hate Yorkshire, on how Bradford united against the EDL



### ZRINKA BRALO

Zrinka Bralo on how her own past as a refugee shapes her work helping migrants today

### HOPE not hate challenges the politics of hate and organised intolerance within society.

Initially established to counter the electoral rise of the BNP, HOPE not hate mobilises communities by providing a positive alternative to the politics of hate. Since it was founded in 2004, HOPE not hate has over 165,000 online supporters and over 60,000 followers on Facebook.

We are not aligned to any political party and will work with everyone wherever possible.

HOPE not hate comprises HOPE not hate Ltd and our charitable wing, HOPE not hate Educational Ltd.

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## Somali terrorists threaten UK Muslims

A NUMBER of moderate British Muslims have been offered police protection following the release of an online video by the Somali Islamic extremist group al-Shabab.

The hour-long video which praises acts of terrorism also names a number of Muslims who have spoken out against Jihadist extremists.

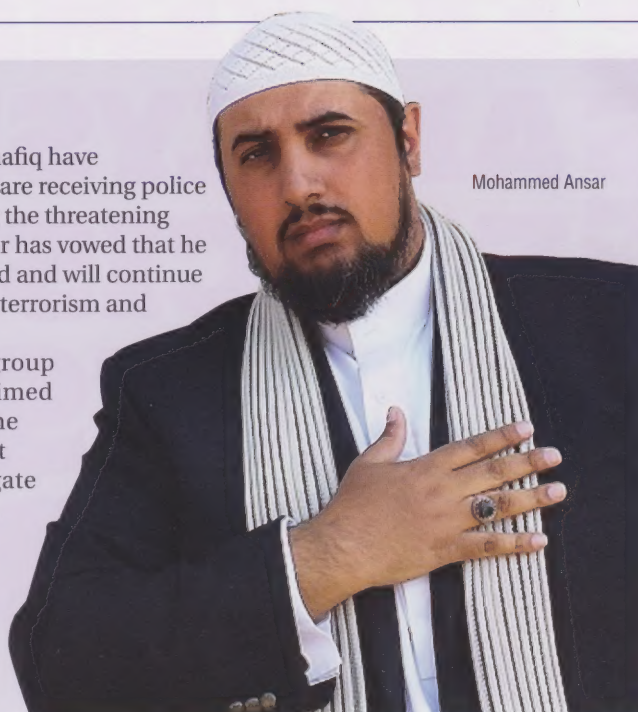
Scotland Yard has confirmed that it has spoken to a number of individuals and said it was currently assessing the contents of the video.

Moderates such as The Imam and broadcaster Ajmal Masroor and Islamic commentators Mohammed Ansar and Mohammed Shafiq have all received visits from the police and have been warned about credible threats regarding their welfare.

Both Ansar and Shafiq have confirmed that they are receiving police protection following the threatening video. Ajmal Masroor has vowed that he will never be silenced and will continue to speak out against terrorism and Islamic extremism.

Somali terrorist group al-Shabab have claimed responsibility for the murderous terrorist attack on the Westgate Shopping centre in Nairobi, Kenya in September which killed 67 people.

Al-Shabab is banned in both the US and the UK.



Mohammed Ansar

## Far right gang jailed

SEVEN MEMBERS of a far-right gang who attacked people at an anti-fascist benefit concert were jailed in September.

Michael Kearns, Nathan Smith and Steven Dumont, all from Liverpool, Peter Hawley and Shane Calvert, both from Blackburn, Liam Pinkham from Wallasey and Matthew Coates of Southport all pleaded guilty to violent disorder at an earlier hearing.

The gang had close ties to The National Front, BNP, North West Infidels and the EDL.

In July 2012, the victims of the attack were walking in Liverpool when they

were attacked by a group of nine men which included the seven guilty men.

The rampaging gang moved from the street into the nearby Tabac café where they continued their wave of violence, witnessed by shocked customers.

Witnesses later told police that there were two groups involved in the fighting – one clearly doing the attacking and the other being attacked.

Coates, Calvert and Pinkham were arrested in Liverpool city centre shortly after the attack. Peter Hawley, Nathan Smith and Michael Kearns were later identified and arrested following a review of CCTV footage.

At Liverpool Crown Court, Judge Robert Trevor-Jones jailed Pinkham, who

had previously threatened to burn down the News From Nowhere bookshop while making abusive comments about Anne Frank, for 17 months.

Dumont was sent to a young offenders institution for a total of nine months after he was also found guilty at trial of public order offences after shouting racist taunts through a megaphone at a mosque in Ashton Under Lyne, Greater Manchester.

Nathan Smith was jailed for 14 months and was given an extra month for breaching bail conditions.

Coates was locked up for 10 months; Michael Kearns, 14 months; Peter Hawley, 13 months, and Shane Calvert was given 14 months behind bars.



(left to right) Michael Kearns, Liam Pinkham, Shane Calvert, Peter Hawley, Matthew Coates, Steven Dumont and Nathan Smith. Photo Greater Manchester Police

## EDL supporter jailed for threatening Asian family with firearm

A WEST MIDLAND EDL supporter has been jailed following a rampage where he brandished a firearm and racially abused a local Asian family.

Shaun Havelin from Birmingham donned an EDL sweatshirt and told his mother that he wanted to

die wearing it, before picking up an air rifle and shouting racist abuse outside the Asian family's home.

Eyewitnesses told police they feared for their lives after seeing a man in the dark armed with a gun.

Havelin admitted to possession of a firearm,

witness intimidation and causing grievous bodily harm when he appeared at Wolverhampton Crown Court in October.

He was charged with witness intimidation after threatening his mother and smashing her car window after he found out she

was going to appear as a prosecution witness. He was also charged with GBH following an attack on his ex-girlfriend which left her with a fractured eye socket.

Shaun Havelin was jailed for two-and-a-half years and was also handed a five year restraining order forbidding him from having any contact with his former partner.



## Guramit behind bars



EDL Leader Stephen Lennon with Guramit Singh Kalirai

A FORMER leading figure with the English Defence League is behind bars after being convicted of a violent robbery.

Guramit Singh Kalirai, along with two accomplices Andrew Wheelhouse and David Mura, tied up a shop assistant and threatened to slash his throat in an attempted robbery at The Simply Hydro gardening shop in Hucknall, Notts.

The trio stood trial at Nottingham Crown Court in September and were found guilty of attempted robbery.

Andrew Wheelhouse was jailed for five-and-a-half years and Mura was sentenced to three years and three months.

Kalirai absconded before the start of the trial and was sentenced to six-and-a-half years in his absence. A warrant was issued for his arrest.

Speaking to the BBC, the now retired EDL leader Tommy Robinson (aka Stephen Lennon) attempted to distance himself and the EDL from the fugitive, claiming that he was no longer active with the far right organisation.

Initially, it was thought that Kalirai's EDL activities had ceased after he had become a hate figure for some sections of the far right but this appears not to be the case as he secretly continued to be in charge of the official EDL Twitter account as recently as March 2013.

One week after absconding, Kalirai posted a lengthy message on Facebook, claiming he was about to hand himself in to The Metropolitan Police despite pleading his innocence.

Kalirai was arrested by Nottinghamshire police a week later in the town of Long Eaton and went on to appear at Nottingham Crown Court where he was given a further nine months for absconding.

## Nick Griffin claims he stopped "war"

BNP LEADER Nick Griffin has claimed that he played a part in the diplomatic efforts which prevented the UK joining in with any US led military action taken against the Syrian regime of Bashar al Assad.

The Speaker of the Syrian parliament Mohammad Jihad al-Laham wrote an open letter to British MPs urging them not to be dragged into any military conflict and inviting them to visit Syria to check on the findings made by UN weapons inspectors.

Griffin, who visited Syria in June and August, believes his meetings and discussions with Syrian officials influenced the contents of al-Laham's letter to The House of Commons.

The BNP chairman claims he had advised his Syrian hosts to be more open with Western politicians and to invite them to "come and see for themselves" and also to react more quickly to demands for access to chemical attack sites.

What is clear, however, is that the Syrian letter appeared to have little if no influence on MPs with some claiming that they were unaware of its existence.



Nick Griffin with Mohammad Jihad al-Laham

## Home Office tell anti-racist campaigners to leave UK



OCTOBER SAW the controversial Home Office 'Advans' banned by advertising watchdogs after they accused them of using "misleading" statistics.

So it should come as no surprise that the UK Border Agency (UKBA) has been up to its old tricks, this time telling well known anti-racism campaigners to leave the country, via text messages.

Capita, sub-contracted by UKBA in a £40m contract, has sent out 40,000 text messages informing "illegal immigrants" that they have no right to be in the UK and they should leave the country. They also ask the recipient to contact UKBA to discuss their case.

But not all text messages have gone to illegal immigrants, with some going to people who have been in the UK for nearly 50 years.

Suresh Grover received a message ordering him to leave the UK.

Grover is a well known campaigner who founded the anti-racism charity The Monitoring Group and has campaigned for justice for Stephen Lawrence, Zahid Mubarek and Victoria Climbié and also runs race relations advice surgeries across London.

He came to the UK with his parents in 1966 from East Africa and has always held a UK passport.

Another to receive a text message is Bobby Chan, who moved to the UK in 1973 and is a certified immigration adviser at a London law centre. He has given evidence as an expert witness to the Home Affairs select committee.

The Home Office and UKBA have so far received 200 complaints regarding the text messages.

- Home news is collated and updated on a daily basis at [www.hopenothate.org.uk/news/](http://www.hopenothate.org.uk/news/) scan the QR code to see the latest >>
- Feature: Lennon, Is this for real page 12





## NETHERLANDS | Wilders finds new friends

JEROEN BOSCH IN AMSTERDAM FOR ALERT! AND ANTIFA-NET

GEERT WILDERS' Freedom Party (PVV) held its first ever demonstration in September in The Hague against the government's austerity programme. The event offered opportunities to check whether Wilders' moves towards co-operation with right-wing extremist parties in Europe had wrought influence on Dutch extreme nationalists. Nazis and racists from across the ultra-right landscape were present, displaying fascist symbols and codes unhindered

by the PVV's security. Some of his own supporters used the Hitler salute when Wilders entered the platform and carried banners with historic fascist slogans like "Eigen Volk Eerst" (Own people first) and "Volk & Vaderland" (People and Fatherland). Among those attending were leaders and important activists from Blood&Honour, Voorpost and smaller groups like Identitair Verzet (Identitair

Resistance (IV), Zwart Front (Black Front – ZF) as well as a few individual members of the Nederlandse Volks-Unie (Dutch People's Union (NVU)).



## FRANCE | FN candidate wins by-election in southern France

FROM JEAN-YVES CAMUS IN PARIS

ON 13 OCTOBER, Laurent Lopez, 48, became the second Front National (FN) activist elected to the office of *conseiller général* at *département* level. Lopez won in the small Riviera constituency of Brignoles by 53.9%, defeating the conservative Union for a Popular Majority (UMP) candidate who polled 46.1%. This was a by-election, as the courts had annulled two previous ballots. A week before, in the first round, the candidates of the left, a Communist endorsed by the Socialist Party and a Green Party member, were left unable to go through to the second round, Lopez already ahead with 40% and the UMP trailing at 20%. Despite the left's call to vote against the extreme-right, the FN scored a significant victory, coming at a time when an opinion poll credited Marine Le Pen's party with 24% in the June 2014 election to the European Parliament – ahead of both the conservative UMP and the Socialist Party. The FN's Brignoles victory confirms that southern France between Marseille and Nice is an extreme-right stronghold. On the basis of these results, Lopez would be elected town mayor in March 2014.



FN activist  
Laurent  
Lopez



Nazi rally in  
Barcelona.  
Photo: Robert  
Bonet

## SPAIN | Nazis "ready to kill and die" for unity

SANDRA CORTÉS FOR ANTIFEIXISTES.ORG IN MADRID

ON SPAIN'S National Day in October, the far right gathered in Barcelona to protest at a possible referendum on Catalan independence. The ruling Popular Party (PP) convened a 30,000-strong rally event joined by other nationalist parties like Ciudadanos and far-right parties such as España2000, Falange de las JONS, the nazi group Tramuntana and the Unified Police Union (SUP). At the same time, 300 people organised by the nazi National Alliance (AN), National Democracy (DN) and Falange gathered elsewhere in the city to hear Falange boss Manuel Andrino warn that they are willing to "die and kill for the unity of Spain". Anti-fascist groups clashed with the fascist demonstration and four fascists were injured. Nazis shouted, "Artur Mas to the gas chamber" against the president of the Catalan government.

The next day, the Catholic Church held a 25,000-strong religious ceremony in Tarragona where 500 fascist "martyrs of the Civil War" were "beatified". Attending was the Spanish legal minister Alberto Ruíz Gallardón.

## GERMANY | Far-right parliamentary poll flop

FROM MICHAEL KLEIN FOR ANTIFA-NET IN BERLIN

THE FAR RIGHT was battered in September's elections to the federal parliament, the Bundestag. As a ballot box novice, the fascist party Die Rechte, founded as a bolt-hole for nazis from banned organisations or those disappointed by the National Democratic Party (NPD), gained only 2,288 votes. The rightwing populist Pro Germany movement which ran nationally for the first time polled 74,311 votes or 0.2%. The generally clapped-out Republikaner, which had elected representatives in several regional parliaments during the 1990s, got only slightly more with 91,660 votes, half what they polled in 2009. The NPD also bled votes but reached 1.2% which means it will secure further state funding from taxpayers' pockets. Although each of these parties put forward a strong anti-European Union position in the campaign, none was able really to profit from it despite the ongoing Euro-crisis. Instead, the Alternative for Germany, founded only six months ago, was the favoured choice of anti-EU voters. Its vote of 2,052,372 added up to 4.7%, an encouragement to stand in regional elections in eastern Germany.





## SWEDEN | Nazis parade in Stockholm

FROM DANIEL VERGARA FOR EXPO IN STOCKHOLM

THE NAZI PARTY of Swedes (SvP) staged a 200-strong march in Stockholm in September. The small number attending marked out the event as a clear flop for the nazis whose leader had boasted that his goal was to create the biggest demonstration in the SvP's history. Reportedly, the party had arranged transport for activists around the country but few bothered to show up. The march turned out to be a parade of shame, the SvP out in front followed by a pathetic tail of nazis from the violent Swedish Resistance Movement. The event was not

welcomed by Stockholm's citizens who sang against the marchers and threw eggs at them from apartments, leaving the unwanted nazis frustrated and desperate to launch attacks on anti-fascists. The Stockholm flop dealt a blow to the nazis' recently growing self-confidence derived from press publicity for various activities, including being given newspaper space – later withdrawn – to rant against left-wing political violence. This was ironic considering that, armed with a club, party führer Stefan Jacobsson had previously attacked left activists in Halmstad.

## LITHUANIA | Extremist found working for Lithuanian state

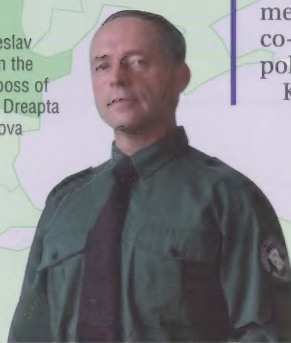
FROM GEOFF VASIL FOR DEFENDINGHISTORY.COM IN VILNIUS

RIGHT-WING extremist blogger 'Zeppelinus' has been outed as an employee of the Lithuanian Finance Ministry. For years, this individual has rallied extreme rightists and ultranationalists with cheerleading blogs and Facebook posts, often using his own obscene antisemitic, racist and homophobic illustrations. Articles in two Lithuanian newspapers and on the Lithuanian antifa website have now pinpointed 'Zeppelinus' as Linas Kadys, a medium-ranking Finance Ministry official who represents Lithuania abroad and serves as the Lithuanian government's member on a tripartite commission to co-ordinate Lithuanian government policy with labour and industry.

Kadys initially denied being

'Zeppelinus' but changed tack and filed a complaint with the Lithuanian Journalists' Ethics Inspectorate alleging his privacy had been violated by public linkages with what he called "the internet persona Zeppelinus." Nowhere did he deny being 'Zeppelinus'. In fact, he alleged Defendinghistory.com, a frequent target of his criticism and antisemitic illustrations, had slandered the "internet persona Zeppelinus" by characterising him as a neo-nazi. The complaint also cited the antifa.lt website, the newspaper *Kauno Diena* and the internet website Delfi.lt. To date, however, no one from the Lithuanian Journalists' Ethics Inspectorate has contacted DefendingHistory.com regarding Kadys's complaint.

Veaceslav Verlan the new boss of Noua Dreapta Moldova



## ROMANIA | New fascist boss in Moldova

DANA IONESCU REPORTS FROM BUCHAREST

VEACESLAV VERLAN is the new boss of the far-right Romanian nationalist Noua Dreapta (ND) in Moldova. Verlan is a veteran of the 1992 war in Transnistria which culminated in the province's *de facto* independence from Moldova. At a meeting in Chisinau that saw his nomination, Verlan pledged "to grow the ND movement in Bessarabia as much as possible, both in terms of membership and influence – financial and political – and to ensure that the realisation of the national ideal, UNIFICATION, will take place as soon as possible."

Verlan, a founder of the illegal National Liberation Army paramilitary structure and a former member of the Romanian National Party (PNR), aims to halt what he regards as the suppression of nationalist opinion by strengthening his organisation. He has called on "National Christian forces" in Moldova and Romania to unite and work together to attract more ethnic Romanian youth to the cause and has pledged to continue "the struggle for national awakening and promoting Romanianism" and, in typically radical fascist style, "the line of spiritual and moral education initiated through the charitable work carried out by the Romanian Orthodox Church churches and monasteries in order to help our brothers in socially vulnerable positions, orphans and people with disabilities".

## SERBIA | Gay Pride march banned again

FROM DAŠKO MILINOVIĆ IN NOVI SAD

BELGRADE SAW another official state ban on the city's Gay Pride Parade in September, with the authorities claiming that security forces were unable to protect participants. For the third time in as many years, the Serbian state has crumpled in the face of threats from fascist hooligans. Gay rights have become a rallying point for the extreme right in Serbia. All kinds of clerical fascist and nazi groups like Obraz, Naši, 1389, Combat 18/Blood&Honour and Srbska Akcija – helped by football hooligan mobs, many of whom have police and military servicemen among their ranks – simply announce a pogrom and destruction of inner city Belgrade if the Gay Pride parade takes place and the authorities capitulate. In this way, aided by the media and the Serbian Orthodox Church, the fascist mob is able to score victories over human rights.

■ For the latest international news visit [www.hopenothate.org.uk/international/](http://www.hopenothate.org.uk/international/) or scan the QR code right >>

■ Country in Focus: Romania page 40





## CHILE | Four convicted of six-hour nazi murder of gay man

SOURCE: PINKNEWS.CO.UK

FOUR MEN have been convicted for killing Daniel Zamudio, a gay man, in a nazi attack last year. Zamudio, 24, died from his injuries 25 days after being attacked in March. The four – Patricio Ahumada, Alejandro Angulo, Raúl López and Fabián Mora – were aged between 19 and 25 at the time of the attack and are awaiting sentence. According to reports, Mora asked the victim whether he was gay, and he responded “yes”. He then suffered a six-hour ordeal at the hands of his captors. Pictures show he had been beaten in the head, burned with cigarettes and scarred with Nazi symbols and slogans. Thousands attended Zamudio’s funeral.

Chile’s president Sebastian Pinera signed anti-discrimination legislation after the killing. The hate crime bill had languished in Congress for over seven years, but was finally fast-tracked after the attack.



Daniel Zamudio, who died after a nazi attack last year.

## MONGOLIA | ‘Eco-nazis’ target foreign miners

SOURCE: MYSINCHEW.COM

MONGOLIA’S MINING boom has brought the vast, sparsely populated country immense wealth but also inequality and ecological damage, and now fringe ultra-nationalist environmentalist movements are emerging in protest at the rapacious activities of multi-national mining firms. “Here we want people with Mongolian hearts and Mongolian blood,” declares nazi leader Boldbaatar Gombodorj who claims the swastika is an ancient Mongol symbol and that his group, Fight for the Security of Mongolia, does not support fascism. But other campaigners openly identify themselves as nazis and reference the Third Reich. In Tsagaan Khass (White Swastika), the most radical group, members greet their leader Ariunbold Altankhuum with a Nazi salute. They dress in black, some sport swastika tattoos and others wear rings adorned with the Germanic Iron Cross. Tsagaan Khass show up at sites unannounced to inspect licences and check on Mongolian workers’ wages.

## RUSSIA | Racist bandwagon rolls on

ULYANA BOBROVA IN MOSCOW REPORTS

RUSSIA IS not likely to see a resurgent parliamentary extreme right very soon. The authorities still avoid registering far right parties, forcing them to impose their presence on the streets. The most successful far right project was the Movement Against Illegal Immigration (DPNI) which extended the reach of its ideas far beyond Moscow. After being banned, it reinvented itself as *Russkije* but internal warfare has dented its image and its groups in Moscow and St Petersburg. Candidates in the first Moscow mayoral ballot for 10 years in September lost no time exploiting the issue of illegal migration, dominating other concerns like corruption and housing.

Since last autumn, masked members of *Russkije*, the Moscow Defence League, the White Patrol, other fascist outfits and football louts, have invaded the homes of migrants, sometimes with the involvement of the immigration authorities, smashing property, terrorising residents and handing them over to the police. In late July, a wave of attacks – “Russian purges” – on market and street stalls started. Racist violence is nothing new.



## USA | Republican Party Draws US into Civil War Fantasies

ERIC O’NEILL IN WASHINGTON DC

The Republican Party has crossed into new political territory. In October, driven by its hard-right Tea Party base, party members in the House of Representatives shuttered the government over federal implementation of affordable health care for American citizens. The shutdown has stretched the country’s barely existent social safety

net to the limits, plunging hundreds of thousands of working families deeper into poverty.

Far right elements have sought to inject their own poisonous fantasies into current tensions. Earl Conlon from Georgia received national media attention by starting an online group, ‘Truck Drivers for the Constitution’ and threatening to shut down the DC Capitol streets with over 3,000 trucks. Reminiscent of pseudo-legal proceedings promoted in the pages of

the now-defunct antisemitic US rag *Spotlight*, Conlon called for the arrest of President Barack Obama by a so-called “citizens grand jury.”

These fake grand juries were popular with the militia members and white supremacists during the 1990s and led to the armed 81-day standoff with so-called ‘Freeman’ in Montana in 1996. Conlon is not alone: infamous televangelist Rick Joyner told his followers during a televised sermon that only a military takeover would save Americans.



Guest column...

# All alone

The danger of lone wolf terrorism is outlined  
by **Matthew Goodwin**

ONLY FIVE DAYS after he arrived in the UK from Ukraine in April this year, Pavlo Lapshyn murdered Mohammed Saleem. Saleem, an 82-year-old man walking home from prayers at his local mosque in Birmingham. He was stabbed three times in his back and his head was stamped on. Two months later, amid the charged atmosphere that followed the murder of Lee Rigby, 25-year-old Lapshyn detonated an explosive device outside a mosque in Walsall. The next week, he detonated another device near a mosque in Wolverhampton. Two weeks later, a third bomb packed with nails exploded outside a mosque in Tipton. The only reason the bomb did not result in hundreds of deaths was that prayers had been moved back one hour because of Ramadan.

Lapshyn has not concealed his motive. Though many like to dismiss so-called 'lone wolves' as irrational and mentally ill, like others before him he drew influence from a wider extreme-right subculture. He admired Oklahoma bomber Timothy McVeigh and Norwegian mass-murderer Anders Behring Breivik, and absorbed Hunter and The Turner Diaries, violent novels by an American neo-Nazi which detail the assassination of minorities and advocate race war. Asked about his own campaign of violence, Lapshyn responded: "I would like to increase racial conflict."

These ideas reflect a deeply-held set of beliefs among hardcore rightwing extremists, which give them a compelling rationale for violence: the survival of Europe or the nation is under threat from multiculturalism or Islam; established politicians are unwilling to save the native group, or complicit in their downfall;

only urgent and radical action can fend off the threat; and activists have a moral obligation to act to save their group and future generations. Lone wolves are rare creatures, but the narratives they use to justify their violence are widespread on the extremist fringe.

In a world that continues to view terrorism as a group-based activity, lone actors present a daunting challenge and one that might simply never be overcome. Security officials have spent at least 50 years shaping law enforcement tools around the assumption that terrorism is at least cell-based with chains of command. But disrupting group dynamics, infiltrating organisations and exploiting weak links in a longer chain suddenly appear redundant in the fight against isolated individuals, who might never even have met a fellow believer. Instead, the Breiviks of the world engage in extreme "narrowcasting", visiting the same websites day after day, encountering little that challenges their worldview. Even terrorist groups now recognise the advantage of keeping their operatives outside of traditional channels.

## Shooting spree

This is why one of the UK's most senior security officials has warned about the lone wolf threat, claiming that activists driven by a hatred of immigrants and Muslims are often more skilled in using explosives, harder to track, and not constrained by the weaknesses that undermine groups. "The biggest weapons caches found in this country in the last five years," said Charles Farr, director of the Office for Security and Counter-Terrorism,



CCTV – After planting the Walsall nbomb, Pavlo Lapshyn travels back to Birmingham and buys a bottle of wine. Photo: West Midlands Police

"have been connected with people sympathetic to extreme rightwing causes." (Meanwhile, in Germany, authorities recently confiscated almost 1,000 weapons from known rightwing extremists).

Nor is this the first warning. The CIA, UK home affairs committee and Department for Homeland Security, who in 2009 pointed to the economic downturn and disillusioned military veterans returning from fighting Islamists in Afghanistan and Iraq as possible triggers, have all flagged up the growing impact of lone wolf action.

While the Homeland Security report was attacked by Tea Party activists, who saw it as an attempt to stain their radical right views, the agency was soon proved correct when a military veteran and white supremacist, Wade Michael Page, embarked on a shooting spree at a Sikh temple in

Wisconsin. In fact, between 1990 and 2010 the US saw almost 350 ideologically motivated murders by rightwing extremists, 37% of which were perpetrated by lone individuals. More than half of the victims were targeted simply because they belonged to a racial or ethnic minority group.

Yet the reality is that we know little about this challenge. A cursory glance at research entries on Google Scholar highlights the general trend: a staggering 10,400 books or articles on "Islamic terrorism"; more than 7,000 on "racist violence", but less than 250 on "lone-wolf terrorism". It is perhaps unsurprising that a researcher would call for more research, but unless we produce the reliable and objective studies of what pushes young men like Lapshyn into violence, then all we are left with is speculation and the consequences of these actions. ●

■ DR MATTHEW GOODWIN Associate Professor School of Politics and IR. Law and Social Sciences at the University of Nottingham



# Has Lennon really



Stephen Lennon announces his resignation from the EDL alongside Quilliam's Majeed Nawaz

**Nick Lowles questions the authenticity of Lennon's resignation from the English Defence League**

Last month Stephen Lennon, better known as Tommy Robinson, sensationally left the English Defence League after claiming defeat in his battle to keep out racists and Nazis from its ranks. Addressing a press conference organised by the de-radicalisation think tank Quilliam, he also realised the futility of street protests and even admitted that the EDL had become "part of the problem".

Over the next few days he toured television studios and met countless newspaper journalists in cafes and upmarket hotels to repeat the line that he was turning his back on the street movement he set up in 2009.

HOPE not hate was suspicious of his actions, not least because only three days before his Damascene conversion he was

camped outside the Reading home of someone he thought opposed the EDL.

In the 72 hours before the press conference, he railed against Muslim paedophiles on Twitter and only 10 days before, to chants from his supporters of 'Burn the mosques', he called for a halt to all Muslim immigration into Britain.

His behaviour, virtually up until the day of the press conference, was hardly the behaviour of someone who was breaking from his past.

However, we gave the news of his departure a cautious welcome. Perhaps it was genuine. Perhaps we just wanted it to be true. Maybe it was because we could not believe that the Quilliam Foundation would publicly and so aggressively trumpet Lennon's conversion if it was not real.

There is, however, still considerable doubt about the real motives for his move.

## No apology

The much publicised press conference is best remembered for what Lennon did not say. There was no remorse for his role in stirring up anti-Muslim hatred over the years. There was no acknowledgement that he had deliberately conflated everyday practices of mainstream Muslims with a tiny minority of Islamist extremists. There was no apology for the millions of pounds wasted or thousands of people EDL demos had targeted and scared. There was no sorrow for the thousands of people he personally had radicalised through the EDL.



# changed?

All we got was the blame being put on alleged Nazis within the group and an admission that street protests were futile. Pressed by the media, Kevin Carroll, Lennon's cousin and number two, said: "We are still singing off the same hymn sheet". Lennon even went out of his way to refuse to criticise Pamela Geller and Robert Spencer, arguably the most important anti-Muslim activists in the world.

Later that evening, Lennon refused to answer Jeremy Paxman's question as to whether his views had changed. On Channel 4 News, he initially denied having ever made anti-Muslim remarks.

The Quilliam Foundation and its supporters have pleaded for patience, arguing that political conversions do not happen overnight and old habits and views die hard. Maybe this is true but it's a big gamble for an organisation whose own credibility is now tied up to what Lennon does next.

It emerged at the press conference that Lennon had been in contact with Quilliam for less than a week and they had only actually met twice.

HOPE not hate staff has dealt with dozens of people who have come out of far right groups. Most do it privately but a few publicly. The difference is that they show real remorse and contrition for their past activities and some, like my close colleague Matthew Collins, now work tirelessly to ensure others do not make the same mistake.

We have heard nothing like this from Lennon and Carroll and we are left to wonder whether this is a tactical rather than political change.

## Anti-extremism

Many journalists who interviewed Lennon in the days following his resignation were also not convinced about whether he had really changed.

Under the headline: "For you, Tommy, the war isn't over," the *Sunday Times* noted that he could only concede that the cost of policing his protests – £10m over the past four years – is "regrettable" and "he still thinks that the EDL was 'essential'." He also continued to hold the view that Mosques are "the control and command centres" of Muslim communities and that "most wars around the world begin after Friday

prayer". He also still believed that the Koran "promotes violence" and Islamic law is going to take over Britain "in between 30 and 40 years".

The journalist concluded: "Robinson is still preaching his own particular brand of bile. He may be changing his method, but I cannot see any signs he is changing his mind."

*The Guardian* was just as suspicious. It was only when they interviewed him, 48 hours after the press conference, that Lennon showed any remorse for his EDL past and he apologised for blaming all Muslims for the actions of a violent few. However, the paper also revealed that much of his new, more moderate tone had to be "prompted by [Maajid] Nawaz," the Director of Quilliam.

Lennon has indicated that he plans to establish a new anti-Islamist movement, telling *The Guardian* that his future work "would involve taking on radicalism on all fronts, although he could not support anti-fascist groups because they also subscribed to 'communism' or were 'anarchists'."

A few days later, however, he clarified that by saying – via his Twitter account – that his new anti-extremist work would not involve opposing the EDL. A strange position for someone who claimed that the group had been taken over by nazis.

This has only added to the suspicion that while Lennon has indeed turned his back on the EDL, his views on Islam, and the British Muslim community, has changed little.

Since his public defection he has repeatedly attacked those who

disagree with him as "Islamists", in the same hysterical tone as existed before. Mo Ansar, who has featured in a TV programme with Lennon, was described as "a smiling Islamist in my eyes. A[n] apologist." He has also targeted non-Muslims for being Islamist apologists, among them the Christian Muslim Forum and Peter Adams, an interfaith worker in Luton, and tweeted that Muslims created Islamophobia themselves.

Lennon remains in regular contact with many of his 'former' EDL comrades, including some who are the most vitriolic in their online anti-Muslim abuse, and he continues to describe his EDL colleagues as "the best people of his life".

Of course, Lennon might change over time but the jury is still out. It is fine for him to want to continue to oppose Islamist extremism but he will need to be equally combative against anti-Muslim extremism – and that includes the EDL as well as traditional nazi groups – and he will need to show some genuine remorse for his role in stirring up anti-Muslim hatred over recent years. Only then will people believe he has really changed. The real winners in this episode is the British Police Service, as it has been their actions, steadily and over a long period of time which have worn Lennon down and forced him to re-evaluate his involvement in the EDL. With his bank account frozen, numerous arrests for his activities, and a forthcoming trial for mortgage fraud, it is their actions that probably forced Lennon to change tact. ●

## Old habits die hard

TOWARDS THE END of October, Lennon attacked the decision of West Ham United in offering subsidised tickets to the local Muslim community.

"These decision [sic] inflame tensions and cause resentment," he wrote on twitter. He then retweeted a picture of some Muslim fans praying at half-time.

While some discounted tickets were indeed offered to local Muslims, Lennon failed to tell the whole story. In their rush to attack this policy, they failed to understand that the club offers discounted tickets to many other local community groups, including schools, youth clubs and soldiers. And given the ethnic make-up of the borough and the lack of Muslims attending matches, encouraging them to follow football seems a perfectly sensible marketing strategy.

Not that some of those who attended this game will go again. What Lennon failed to tell his twitter followers was that the Muslims pictured praying were subsequently abused and taunted to the point that they had to leave the area and some even left the stadium.



# Smaller but mo

**Matthew Collins looks at what the future holds for the English Defence League**

## ***“For you Tommy, the war is over”***

It's been used before and it will be used again, no doubt. This time the English Defence League (EDL) leader was not being carted off to gaol, but was instead deserting his diminishing band apparently of his own accord.

Stephen Lennon, who for more than four years has used the name Tommy Robinson for political purposes, was once more in the headlines. At first it was reported that Lennon was quitting the EDL after having had a Damascene conversion. Whether that was entirely or true or not did not matter, it was having a car-crash effect on his followers.

He was not leaving them all behind, the few thousand adherents of drunken ranting and raving on social media that had become his bedrock-foundation of the EDL. A hand-picked lucky dozen, quickly christened by the remnants as a “dirty dozen”, were to join him in a new, as of yet unspecified adventure.

Clearly, the EDL has not been bigger than one person. It has had large personalities and abrasive ones at that, but even the group's co-founder and the cousin of Lennon, Kevin Carroll, struggled in the past to keep the group together during Lennon's prolonged absences.

The EDL teetered on the brink of collapse for much

of 2012 and the early half of 2013. Neither Islamists nor mainstream Islam had bowed to the EDL's demands. People who came forward to offer leadership were dispatched ruthlessly.

But despite its diminishing size and influence people do live in genuine fear of the EDL's capabilities, something that Lennon himself had to acknowledge and even apologise for. Widely reported and denounced for thuggery, stupidity and violence the EDL has been on the brink of what was potentially, in Loughborough at least, veering into out and out terrorism.

Lennon had led where only fools would dare to tread, but he'd been a necessarily brutal protector of his private throne. No votes and no leadership elections were to rock his ship. Those who had become competitive or inquisitive of his political or financial interests were ruthlessly driven from the organisation. He made no exceptions, no matter how close to him they were. They formed splinter groups and many of them embedded themselves further into the extreme right as a result of it.

### **Street protests**

In the case of much of the “Counter-Jihad” splinter groups, their outright neo-Nazism only became apparent once Lennon had



dispatched them for their insolence.

For those who did not query his absolute right to rule, their paths to radicalisation were fully assisted and Lennon and the organisation as a whole were the constant companion and conduit for their journeys. He's left the EDL as a fascist street movement and publicly washed his hands of responsibility for any deviation from his own hazy statements of intent. He is far smarter than any of them.

Only days before the murder of Drummer Lee Rigby in South London in May, some in the EDL had called on Lennon to step down. His disinterest in street protesting was palpable. Yorkshire EDL wanted to breakaway and go it alone. The Manchester demonstration in March 2013 had been larger than

other recent demonstrations, they'd even been granted a march and it was billed as the recently released-from-prison Lennon's homecoming. He was a no-show and the old foes, the football casuals, the EVE, the Infidels and the SEA were gloating.

And then there was Lee Rigby.

Having caused a near riot on the night and close to the murder scene with the immortal words “enough is enough”, Lennon's stroll through Newcastle three days later with some 2,000 angry white men behind him was a rebirth of the EDL. Only he could have led such a stunt. 1,500 people again, two days later in Central London disarmed his detractors internal and external and humiliated the baying and bloodthirsty British National Party (BNP). He claimed the government was listening,



# ore hardline?



(left) The war is over for Tommy Robinson  
(right) Interim commandant, Tim Ablitt

The critical period of seven days after a “disaster” has now passed. The EDL, as we go to print, has made no coherent comment. Lennon claims he is receiving death threats, which is none too surprising. There is a real sense of shock and abandonment.

The EDL has announced they will be rallying in Wakefield in November, a parochial area of strength in Yorkshire for the EDL. A new leader will be unveiled by then surely, as Ablitt has made it clear he is only interim.

The field will narrow as to who can lead the group. There are whispers that the sixteen regional organisers who appointed Ablitt will consider making the EDL a more democratic membership organisation and make efforts to merge with groups like the South East Alliance (SEA) English Volunteer Force (EVF) and some elements of the Infidels. But whatever happens, in the short term, a more militant movement is now likely to emerge, still no closer to identifying or understanding its own roots, purpose or moral codes.

For many left behind in the EDL, they simply cannot understand why Lennon has done what he has and the wild conspiracy theories do not alter that much from the more considered opinions doing the rounds on social media. The counter narrative is that the EDL has not been

defeated. Kevin Carroll now describes the EDL as merely a “symptom” not of Islamophobia, but of what he calls “Islamicisation.”

Having completed their sojourn back into the media spotlight after the Rigby murder, the bulk of the activists who re-energised the EDL briefly will simply now go back to the pub, the newspaper and football on the television. Lee Rigby is buried; the summer of anger, confusion and turmoil behind us for now. They’ll remain franchised, radicalised and part-time, but unlikely to re-engage again until there is some other kind of outrage, god forbid.

For the sixteen regional organisers, the ‘Crusaders’ now holding the baby that Lennon aborted at the last hour, they will search for somebody well known. The names already being discussed and in the “ring” are known only within Counter-Jihad street movements. They will need to move quickly to assert a popular leader. The popular leaders despatched to splinter groups have all echoed more militant sentiments from the sidelines. All have failed to lead an alternative to the EDL. But in their thinking, somebody will have to be the next person to stand up and shout as the bottles and profanities rain down, and shout “enough is enough.” ●

that the EDL was being heard and their concerns were being accounted for, but they were still, after four-and-a-half years, meeting in car parks and protesting outside pubs.

Lennon described some of the remaining EDL as “scum”. To them, their former leader is now a “grass”. Some are convinced that he, or at least his officers, are still in control of the group’s social media pages and purging critical supporters.

Some in the media have opined that the rump of the EDL is sitting on something like 30,000 “members,” but we believe that it is actually closer to 1,000 fully-engaged individuals. Unsubstantiated (as yet) research is beginning to whisper that as much as 50% of the group’s much heralded Facebook support is actually from overseas anyway. Like Blood & Honour, the EDL has become a worldwide

franchise of Defence Leagues with little contact, relevance or sympathy to its mater. Some of those will be paper organisations which will now disband and slink back into the wider “intellectual” Counter-Jihad scene unnoticed.

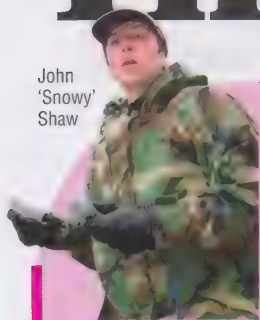
## New leader

The EDL’s Bradford rally, held just days after Lennon’s departure, was a miserable affair. Less than 500 braved the driving wind and rain to look for answers. An interim leader, Tim Ablitt, did little to drive up the mood of the group. A relatively inoffensive individual, at least he knows how to make the group’s coffers tick over through EDL merchandising. There is a rush elsewhere to find a new leader. Sky News reported a faked Facebook profile of a former UKIP candidate as the new leader of the EDL.



# The rise and fall of

John 'Snowy' Shaw



**September 2010:** Serious cracks in the EDL. John 'Snowy' Shaw ridiculed and expelled over financial allegations

**August 2010:**

EDL march in Bradford is banned after huge HOPE not hate campaign. 800 EDL attend demo but they battle among themselves and with police

**August 2010:**

Lennon pleads not guilty to using "threatening words or behaviour at a football match." Will eventually receive a three-year football banning order.

**July 2010:**

The BNP leaks information that Lennon was a former member

**June 2010:**

Tower Hamlets council pressure venue to cancel after EDL threaten to protest against Islamist event

**June 2010:**

HOPE not hate unmask "Tommy Robinson" as Stephen Yaxley Lennon



EDL battle with police August 2010

Tommy Robinson unmasked



**September 2010:**

Lennon turned away by US customs due to his convictions

**September 2010:**

EDL issue a 'Fatwa' against journalists and photographers

**October 2010:**

EDL march banned in Leicester. Over 1,000 attend rally where violent clashes take place

**October 2010:**

Lennon forced to flee an outdoor rally in Amsterdam as Ajax hooligans take exception to his presence in their fine city

**November 2010:**

Lennon arrested and later fined after a poppy protest by Muslims Against Crusades in central London

**November 2010:**

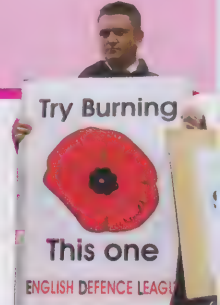
Violent EDL demonstrations in both Preston and Nuneaton



(left) EDL banned in Leicester October 2010



Lennon humiliated by Ajax hooligans in Amsterdam October 2010



**March 2012:**

Lennon travels to Aarhus in Denmark to address international rally which ends in a riot

**February 2012:**

Scottish Defence League (SDL) separate from the EDL, preferring to follow the Infidels

**February 2012:**

In a protest outside the Argentine Embassy, Lennon warns supporters to stop Nazi saluting during the singing of the national anthem

**December 2011:**

The 'Infidels' issue threats to Lennon and Carroll

**November 2011:**

British Freedom Party launched

**September 2011:**

EDL hold static rally in East London but fail to enter Tower Hamlets. Lennon, dressed as a rabbi, is arrested for breaking bail conditions

**April 2012:**

Lennon makes a bungled appearance on the BBC's 'Big Questions' show, denying the EDL is a violent organisation



(right) November 2011 Kevin Carroll, Paul Weston and Stephen Lennon launch the BFP  
(left) April 2012 Lennon trends on Twitter after mistaking the Taj Mahal for a mosque



**April 2012:**

Lennon denies praising Norwegian mass murderer Anders Brevik during an interview he gave to a Norwegian newspaper. He also predicts bloodshed in the UK during an interview with a Swedish TV crew

**April 2012:**

Lennon threatens to give BNP leader Nick Griffin a "slap" during a twitter feud

**April 2012:**

Lennon trends on Twitter after people point out to him that he has mistaken the Taj Mahal for a mosque using the hast tag #creepingsharia

**May 2012:**

Lennon becomes joint deputy leader of the BFP. Liverpool EDL describe the Holocaust as a "hoax"

**June 2012:**

Serious cracks begin to appear in the EDL. Lennon ignores an invitation to meet with the rival Infidels in Rochdale who are distributing leaflets calling him a paedophile



# of the EDL

START

**March 2009:** "United Peoples of Luton" (UPL) formed in response to Al Muhajiroun at homecoming parades by the British Army



United People of Luton demonstration March 2009

**June-July 2010:** EDL incorporates a Jewish and LGBT division to allay fears it is a neo-Nazi organisation

**May 2010:** Infighting starts in the EDL with Paul Ray leading the opposition

**April 2010:** Over 2,000 join violent EDL protest against a proposed 'super mosque' in Dudley

**August 2009:** EDL demonstration in Birmingham ends in violence

**June 2009:** UPL becomes the 'English Defence League' (EDL).



Paul Ray

EDL riot in Dudley April 2010



**November 2010:** Detective Chief Superintendent Adrian Tudway, of the domestic extremism unit, denies that the EDL are either extreme or right wing

**December 2010:** HNH leads campaign that blocks extremist pastor Terry Jones from entering the UK for the EDL's 'homecoming' rally in Luton

**December 2010:** Two EDL supporters jailed for the murder of a man with learning difficulties in Lincoln

**January 2011:** EDL leaders claim "gun attack" on their homes in Luton that nobody else either heard or saw

**February 2011:** 3,000 attend EDL homecoming rally in Luton. Day overshadowed by David Cameron's attack on multiculturalism the same day



**February 2011:** Daily Star announces, approvingly, that the EDL is to become a political party

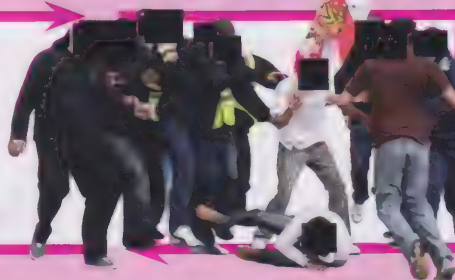


November 2010 Lennon arrested after poppy protest by Muslims Against Crusades

December 2010 pastor Terry Jones blocked from entering the UK



June 2011 EDL members carry out vicious racist attack in Dagenham,



**April 2011:** Lennon arrested and convicted for head butting a factional rival at Blackburn rally

**August 2011:** HNH expose dozens of EDL members and supporters brandishing fake, imitation and some real firearms as an example of the mindset behind the group

**July 2011:** EDL announces march in Tower Hamlets, East London in September but it is banned after HOPE not hate campaign

**July 2011:** Anders Breivik goes on murderous rampage in Norway

**June 2011:** Both Ebay and Paypal dump the EDL. EDL members carry out vicious racist attack in broad daylight in Dagenham, caught on camera by HOPE not hate.



(left) July 2012 Lennon platform with Geert Wilders  
(right) Nick Griffin



**June 2012:** Lennon arrested by police for not surrendering his passport in time to stop him travelling to the European Football championships.

**June 2012:** Four Islamist extremists travel to an EDL rally in Dewsbury with the intention of detonating a bomb

**July 2012:** EDL member jailed for nine years for an axe attack on his Asian neighbours

**July 2012:** Lennon shares a platform with Geert Wilders in European parliament

**July 2012:** Lennon cancels proposed demonstration in Walthamstow preferring to go on holiday instead

**August 2012:** Nick Griffin reignites fight with the EDL describing them as part of some "Zionist" plot against the BNP

CONTINUED OVER





**August 2012:**  
Lennon, Kevin Carroll and BFP boss Paul Weston travel to Sweden to attend Counterjihad rally with Pam Geller and Robert Spencer

August 2012 Kevin Carroll and Paul Weston in Sweden

**September 2012:**  
EDL humiliated in Walthamstow.

**September 2012:**  
Outbreak of violence in Walsall between rival EDL gangs ruins rally and leaves dozens injured

**September 2012:**  
Lennon and Carroll attend launch of Stop Islamisation of Nations in New York

**October 2012:**  
Lennon quits BFP

**October 2012:**  
53 EDL activists arrested for an attempt to launch a raid on East London Mosque

**October 2012:**  
Lennon arrested for entering the United States under a false passport. EDL heads into a massive downward spiral



**January 2013:**  
'English National Resistance' launched by a coalition of Lennon's rivals

**January 2013:**  
Lennon pleads guilty to entering the US on a false passport. Sentenced to 10 months in prison

**December 2012:**  
Kevin Carroll issues astonishing video address, describing some EDL supporters as "muggy mushrooms"

**November 2012:**  
Lennon charged with fraud in relation to a mortgage application

**November 2012:**  
South East Alliance (SEA) split from the EDL

**March 2013:**  
Lennon released from prison on tag



**March 2013:**  
EDL march in Manchester attracts 500, Lennon causes anger by not attending and increasingly inactive

**May 2013:**  
Drummer Lee Rigby murdered in Woolwich. Lennon returns to the EDL to lead a riotous protest at the scene of the murder. A rejuvenated EDL attracts 100,000 new supporters on Facebook and hold demonstrations across the country. Thousands march in Newcastle

**May 2013:**  
Lennon and his co-leader and Kevin Carroll heavily criticised for spreading lies about an alleged rape in a Luton school

**May 2013:**  
Help For Heroes refuse EDL donation



May 2013  
Lee Rigby murdered

June 2013:  
Lennon on the Sunday Politics program



**June 2013:**  
Lennon given a roasting on the Sunday Politics BBC program. Host Andrew Neil receives death threats

**October 2013:**  
Lennon turns up on the doorstep of who he thinks is an antifascist. His information is wrong and the person is entirely innocent. Lennon refuses to apologise. A few days later he resigns from the EDL.

**September 2013:**  
Lennon and others arrested outside the home of former X-Factor host Tulisa Contostavlos

**September 2013:**  
600 attend EDL demo in City of London. Attendances and interest in group beginning to wane again. Lennon arrested again

**June 2013:**  
Lennon and Carroll arrested on a sponsored walk across London outside of East London Mosque for obstructing police

**June 2013:**  
EDL announce a London demo will be addressed by Muslim haters Pam Geller and Robert Spencer. After a campaign by HOPE not hate they are refused entry to the country

**END?**

**October 2013:**  
Stephen Lennon and Kevin Carroll leave the EDL.

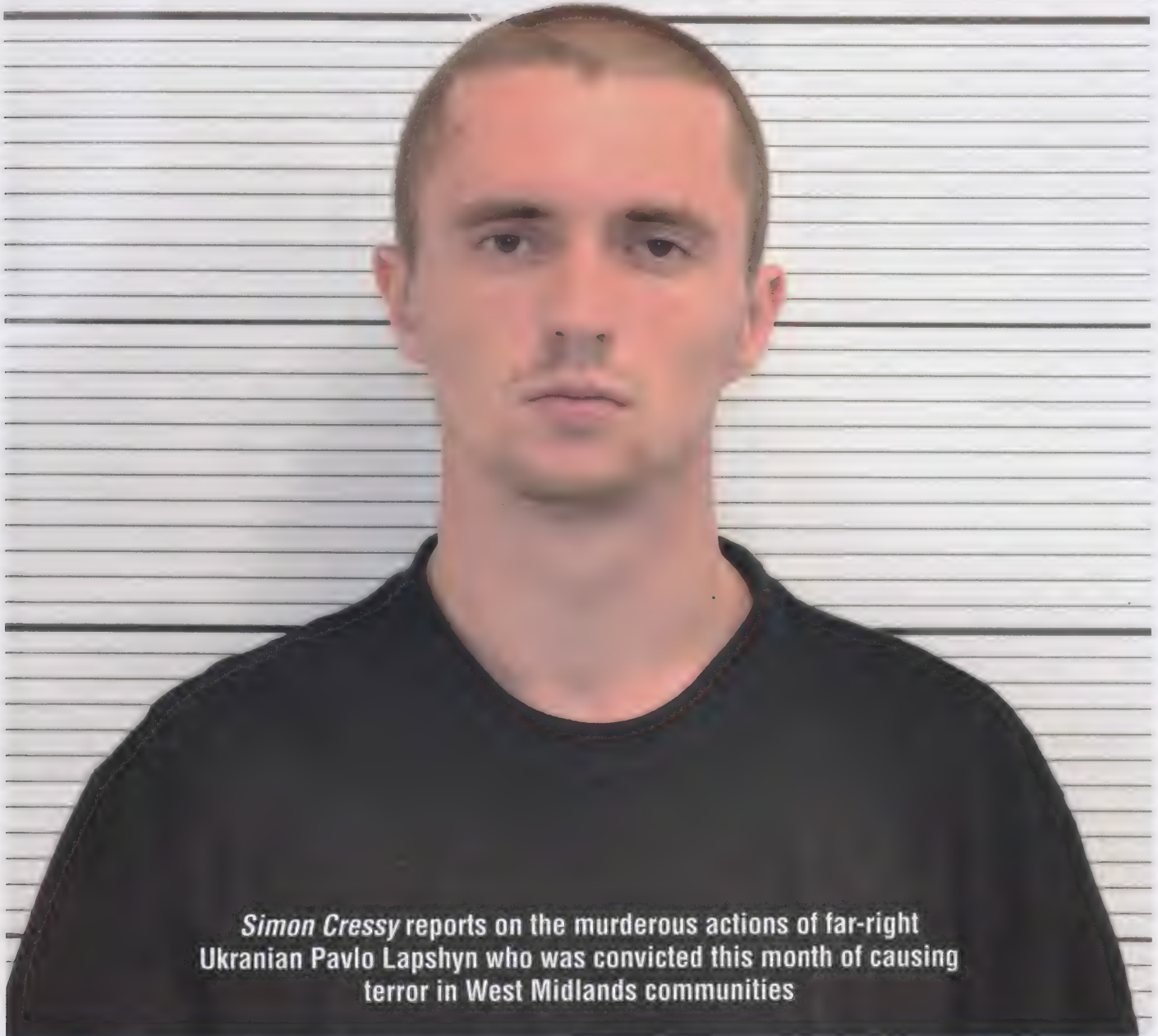


June 2013:  
Pam Geller and Robert Spencer refused entry to the country





# In Cold Blood



*Simon Cressy reports on the murderous actions of far-right Ukrainian Pavlo Lapshyn who was convicted this month of causing terror in West Midlands communities*

A UKRAINIAN neo-Nazi has been jailed for life after pleading guilty to the murder of an elderly Asian man and responsibility for a series of bomb attacks on mosques.

Pavlo Lapshyn stabbed the 82-year-old man three times in the back in cold blood just several days after he arrived in the UK to start a work placement at a software development company in Birmingham.

He appeared at The Old Bailey in October and admitted murder, causing explosions, and preparing for acts of terrorism and will serve a minimum of 40 years in jail.

Lapshyn, from the Eastern Ukrainian city of Dnipropetrovsk, is a self-styled white nationalist who idolised Timothy McVeigh, the Oklahoma City bomber who detonated a truck bomb in front of the Alfred P Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City on April 19, 1995 killing 168 people and injuring more than 600.

Mohammed Saleem, who walked with a stick, was stabbed as he made his way home in Small Heath, Birmingham after visiting the local mosque for prayers. CCTV footage showed a white man wearing a baseball cap running away from the scene of the crime.

After his arrest, Lapshyn told police he murdered Mr Saleem because he was a Muslim and that there were no witnesses at the time of the crime.

As well as murdering Mohammed Saleem, Lapshyn embarked on a bombing campaign that targeted Muslims and mosques with the intention of inflaming a race war.

In one instance it was nothing more than luck that saved the congregation of the Kanzul Iman Central Jamia Mosque in Tipton from being slaughtered. Mosque leaders forgot to update their website as the times for prayers had



been changed to an hour later because of the holy month of Ramadan. If prayers had taken place at the usual time, a bloodbath could have occurred as a bomb constructed by the 25-year-old Ukrainian exploded and showered the entire area with shrapnel and nails.

Lapshyn was caught with material for a further three devices but was arrested before he had chance to attempt further mayhem.

The Ukrainian confessed to police he had caused the explosions at the mosque in Tipton and planted a bomb that exploded at the Aisha Mosque and Islamic Centre in Walsall three weeks earlier which thankfully injured nobody. The bomb was packed into a children's lunch box and detonated via a converted mobile phone.

He also admitted planting another explosive device outside The Wolverhampton Central Mosque. Luckily again, it was found by police before it exploded.

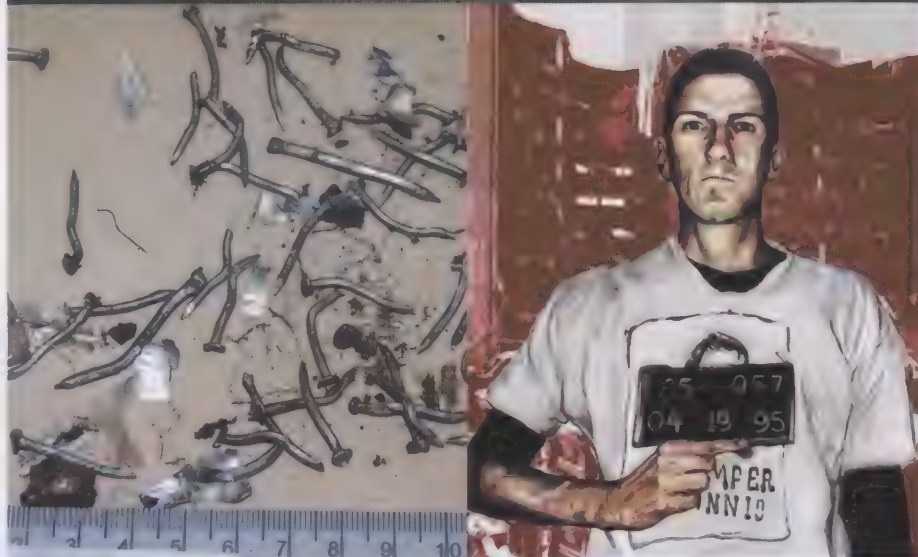
Following his arrest Lapshyn told the police: "I would like to increase racial conflict because they are not white and I am white. I have a racial hatred, so I have a motivation, a racial motivation."

When officers from the West Midlands Counter Terrorism Unit searched the flat where Lapshyn was living they found part-made devices plus chemicals ordered from the internet, demonstrating his intention to make further bombs which could go on to kill and maim.

When police analysed his computer they found he had spent time researching white supremacist movements and included in his documents on his PC was a copy of *The Turner Diaries*, a virulently right wing novel from the 1970s, written by the late William Pearce, former leader of the white nationalist organization The National Alliance. *The Turner Diaries* portray the overthrow of the US government and an impending race war which leads to the extermination of all groups deemed by Pearce as impure such as Jews, gay people, and non-whites. The publication has served as a blueprint for Nazi terrorism in the USA and is also popular with the far right in the UK.

*The Turner Diaries* was also a favourite book of Lapshyn's hero Timothy McVeigh. Two pages of the book which contained a scene depicting preparation for the bombing of the J Edgar Hoover Building, the FBI national headquarters, were found in the getaway car of McVeigh following the Oklahoma City bombing.

A month after Lapshyn murdered Mohammed Saleem, he began to post



(top) Bus CCTV Pavlo Lapshyn catches bus from Birmingham to Walsall carrying the bomb  
(left) Nails used in Lapshyn's Tipton bomb (right) Picture of Timothy McVeigh posted by Lapshyn  
Photos West Midlands Police

a number of items to his page on the Russian social network VK which is popular with neo Nazis in Russia and also in the UK. Included in these was a video and photos of Timothy McVeigh along with a diagram of a bomb detonator.

What became clear from the hours of police interviews was the fact that Lapshyn was working alone, without any accomplices or without any clear indication of any links to any far right groups. In fact he was eager to be credited for his actions. Despite what some experts claim, Lapshyn was a real 'lone wolf'. In fact, even his flatmate, another Ukrainian student was unaware of Lapshyn's intentions.

The warning signs were there for all to see. Three years earlier Lapshyn was arrested by Ukrainian police after he began experimenting with bomb-making techniques and equipment. His

experiments led to him blowing up his parents' flat, with emergency services having to rescue him from the wreckage.

Yet Ukrainian police failed to take his interest in explosives seriously and released him with just a fine and a slap on the wrist.

Speaking outside The Old Bailey following the trial, West Midlands Assistant Chief Constable Marcus Beale called Lapshyn "dangerous and evil".

He said: "His motivation was very much that he thought the white man was better than everybody else and he was attacking for that reason. He was extremely dangerous. It is of great relief that he is not free to walk the streets any further.

"He's a dangerous, evil and completely ill-informed man. There is no justification for the crimes he committed or the intent that he has. He was operating alone, he was a lone actor." ●



# Community response to conviction of Pavlo Lapshyn

**Dave Porter** looks at local reaction to the conviction of Pavlo Lapshyn and the effect the attacks had on community relations

TIPTON IN SANDWELL is a diverse community which all agree has had its fair share of troubles in the past, but when the bomb attack occurred the need for solidarity took on a new urgency.

Shock and disbelief at the incident – followed by a sense of unease when it became clear it was not an isolated incident – turned to bewilderment at who was responsible.

With the conviction and sentencing to life of far-right racist Pavlo Lapshyn, the community is finally able to look to the future.

Sandwell councillor, Syeda Amina Khatun, says the local community can only now feel at ease now that Lapshyn has been jailed for life. She acknowledges that rumours swirling around at the time of the Tipton bomb incident claimed that it may have been the work of rival factions in the community, but that these proved to be groundless.

"No one in the community believed that. The rumours came from outside that it could have been some Muslims just doing it. Yes, there are incidents that happen between Muslims, but in places like Syria and not in Sandwell.

"Politics goes on in all religions but in terms of planting bombs, that does not come into it. People have different beliefs and different religious practices – some celebrate Eid on one day and some celebrate Eid on a different day – but there is not that kind of hatred here.

"I think people in Sandwell of whatever faith have learnt over the years to come together, and not just through the good times but also through the bad as well. There have been riots in Burnley and Oldham, and could have had a riot here every day, but this is our time to unite. And people do unite, that's the one good thing about Sandwell."

Gurinder Josan is chairman of Sandwell Police Independent Advisory Group and a community activist in the area and says there was a palpable sense of fear within the community at the time of the attacks. This was heightened when it became clear that the attack on Tipton was not an isolated case, but that Wolverhampton Central Mosque had also been targeted.

"Now there is a big sense of relief. What was apparent very quickly was that even though the target was the mosque, the impact was felt on the community as a whole, which is very diverse.

"Behind the mosque is some sheltered housing for the elderly and the people living there had to be evacuated – some nails from the bomb ended up in their gardens.

"We have very strong community relations in Tipton, that really came to the fore after the attack with people pulling together. There was a sense of fear when it happened that actually this is part of something bigger when the Wolverhampton attack became apparent."

Gurinder said that because the attack on the mosque occurred around the time of Ramadan, just before the EDL were due to march through Birmingham and at the time of Lee Rigby's murder, tensions were naturally heightened in the community. Because of these circumstances, many in the community suspected the far-right of orchestrating the attack, he said.

"I think the worry now in the back of people's minds is that while he (Pavlo Lapshyn) is a loner, there may be others like him out there. And because of that there is increased vigilance now – the authorities are looking at increased surveillance and security, and the police have been very good." He added: "We have a strong community here, very resilient. We have been in the headlines before for all the wrong reasons, but people do pull together, and when they see one section of the community under threat the feeling is that we are all under threat."

In terms of guarding against future threats to mosques, police from the West Midlands counter-terrorism unit are looking at security around places of worship, such as the Tipton mosque, and reviewing CCTV footage. All 'vulnerable' sites in the area are now going to be assessed.

A new working party has been set up to see how future incidents can be averted. The fact that one of the bombs was placed on a disused rail line is being seen as significant, with a new working party involving the local council and Network Rail looking at beefing up security.

Istikhar Ahmad, a member of the executive at Wolverhampton Mosque, which was also the subject of an attack by Lapshyn, says that while the local community and the local council gave them lots of moral and practical support, support from politicians was non-existent.

He explained: "Central government were very unhelpful at the time. It is still worth noting that David Cameron did nothing. Three bombs went off and one person was killed. My challenge is to the wider media and central government: had these incidents been perpetrated by a muslim, what would have been the reaction?"

"We would have had CCN outside our gates, there would have been meetings of COBRA,



Murder victim 82-year-old Mohammed Saleem  
Photo West Midlands Police

but there was nothing like that."

Istikhar says the predominant feeling in the community following the conviction is one of relief.

"At the time there was a level of unease because we did not know the background of the person who did this. People were asking if there were UK elements involved and thankfully it seems very much that he was a lone operator," he said.

"We have had decades of good work by people building bridges and bringing communities together and one incident like this could have put things back under. That was the main concern at the time."

Mushtaq Hussain, chairman of Kanz-ul-Iman Muslim Welfare Association Central Jamia Mosque in Tipton, who lives just yards from the mosque, is quoted as telling his local paper: "At the time people were horrified because these things never happen. It has brought people together and made them stronger."

The Tipton mosque put out a statement at the time of the nail bomb attack which underlies the fear many felt within the community – but also its refusal to be cowed.

The statement reads "We jointly, on behalf of the local community, condemn this senseless and mindless act. It's a blessing from God that thankfully no-one was injured in the blast.

"We call for calm and strongly urge the community not to let this incident divide us and cause disharmony.

"We stand united, stand together in the aftermath of this mindless act. We have worked hard to build good community relations and will not allow this incident to divide us or undermine cohesion in the borough."



# Crackdown deepens the ongoing Greek crisis

By Graeme Atkinson

**T**he brutal assassination of anti-fascist rapper Pavlos Fyssas, 34, in Piraeus on 18 September has sparked a much belated crackdown by Antonis Samaras' right-wing coalition government against the violent nazi Golden Dawn (GD) organisation.

GD member George Roupakias has been charged with stabbing Fyssas to death in a cold-blooded attack which bears all the hallmarks of a carefully planned assault by a gang of armed nazis. After news of the murder broke, tens of thousands poured onto the streets of Athens and cities across Greece to protest at Fyssas' murder.

The rapid deterioration of the political situation set off alarm bells in the corridors of power and stung Samaras – probably with external “encouragement” from the European Union and NATO – into ordering armed police swoops on GD premises throughout the country and the immediate arrest of party leader and MP Nikos Mihaloliakos and 21 other party members, including a further five MPs.

The porcine Mihaloliakos is still in custody on charges of organising a criminal group, murder, assault and money laundering. Three illegal guns (a pistol, a revolver and a shotgun) were found in his

home, and are undergoing ballistics tests. Reportedly, Mihaloliakos had no firearms licence. Additionally, bullets and cartridges, €43,100 in cash, computers and a USB were also found there.

## **‘Greeks only’**

The charge sheet for the whole pack of accused nazis includes murders, extortion, and involvement in the disappearance of up to 100 immigrants.

Just a week before a party assault squad ambushed and killed Fyssas, another of about 50 men, wielding crowbars and bats, had attacked a group of Communists in the working class district of Perama, hospitalising several of them. The sheer scale of GD lawlessness left Samaras with no choice but to take dramatic action.

The situation was worsening by the day with the GD carrying out random assaults on opponents and pogroms against immigrants apparently with impunity. In addition, it was organising stunts like the free distribution of food “for Greeks only”, threatening to carry out raids on hospitals and kindergartens and to “throw immigrants and their children out on the street so that Greeks can take their place”, as well as demanding

that blood donated by Greeks be used “for Greeks only”.

At the same time, Greece's plunge into mass poverty escalated as Eurozone-imposed austerity policies bit ever deeper, slashing the remnants of the country's welfare, social security and unemployment provisions, causing businesses to close, causing real hunger and throwing more and more people onto the mercy of their extended families.

## **Gangster party**

The unemployment rate leapt, in July 2013, to 27.6 per cent from 25 per cent a year before, with young people worst hit. 1,374,000 are jobless, unemployment among workers under 24 rocketing to a staggering 65.1 per cent.

This has been the human cost of six years of deep recession and two EU/IMF/ECB bailout programmes – and with another on the way. Since 2008, the unemployment rate has tripled, while the economy has contracted by 22 per cent.

That the fabric of Greek society has been riven in this way has made GD's Hitlerite answers an attractive prospect to some sections of the electorate and, until it maladroily murdered Pavlos Fyssas, the third party in the country.

Golden Dawn pillories its mainstream parties as “traitors” and “thieves” blaming them for plunging Greece into effective bankruptcy and for allowing in around 800,000 legally-registered immigrants – many of whom have come from Albania – and an estimated 350,000 undocumented immigrants, including

## **Price of crisis**

■ Household disposable income has shrunk by at least 22% and the homeless have increased by 25%.

■ Crime up more than 40% since 2008. Prostitution up by 150% since the beginning of the crisis and domestic violence against women by 47%.

■ Incidents of students fainting at schools due to malnutrition increasing while the number of minors living in households with severe material deprivation increased by 38.2% between 2010-2011.

■ According to UNICEF, bullying in Greek schools increased by 74% between 2002 and 2010 while the growth rate of juvenile delinquency for perpetrators aged 9-13 is 58%.

Source: euobserver.com





Members of extreme right party Golden Dawn celebrate holding flares in the northern coastal city of Thessaloniki after Greece's general elections in June 2012

### Golden Dawn timeline see over

Afghans, Bangladeshis and Pakistanis.

Evading the clear government corruption and capitalist mismanagement of the economy that has caused the ongoing crisis, some Greeks con themselves into blaming migrants and Jews for their abject situation and are attracted to GD's policies of eradicating democracy and the working class movement.

Michaloliakos and his gangster party plug into this sentiment, labelling immigration a "wound", while his wife Eleni Zaroulia has blasted immigrants as "sub-humans" in a speech to parliament, claiming they had "invaded" Greece bringing "all sorts of diseases".

This same Zaroulia, now under police scrutiny for smuggling a 9mm bullet into her locked-up husband, and who has demanded the death sentence for paedophiles and criminal charges for doctors

who provide abortions, sat on the committee on equality and non-discrimination of the Council of Europe's parliamentary assembly.

Samaras is now pondering emergency legislation to outlaw GD – there is no constitutional provision for this – and Greece's president, Karolos Papoulias, has stated: "It is our duty not to allow any space whatsoever to fascism – not even an inch."

Whether the state's moves against Michaloliakos and his thugs will undermine the nazis is open to question. The armed forces wait in the wings, raids continue against GD uncovering caches of weapons, dodgy money and evidence of infiltration into the police, the army and civil service, austerity continues to be rampant and the left fails to mobilise to confront the nazi threat head-on.

The portents are not good.

### Who votes nazi?

■ In voter profile, men lead over women (8.5% of voters / 5.1%), and the party's influence among the young is relatively greater (8.1% voters of ages 18-24, 9.9% ages 25-34, 11.9% ages 35-44, 6.7% ages 45-54, 3.8% ages 55-64 and 2.5% 65 and above).

■ The GD vote is shared by urban, semi-urban and rural milieus, with respective percentages of 6.8, 7.4 and 6.9.

■ In terms of professions, unskilled part-time workers predominate (24.5) and unemployed (23.5), followed by employers-business men (20.3), middle-level officials in the private sector (12.6), skilled workers (11.1), private sector employees (10.2), artisans (9.1), liberal professions (8.7), self-employed farmers, livestock farmers and fishermen (7.5), public sector wage earners (4.7), housewives (3.6), secondary-school students and soldiers (3.6), private-sector pensioners (2.88), middle-level officials in the public sector (2.3) and public sector pensioners (1.7).

■ The voting map for GD in the June 2012 elections shows a lower percentage in the high-income neighbourhoods – from 3.67 to 2.94 in Athens, and from 2.28 to 4.00 in Thessaloniki.

■ In middle-income neighbourhoods the percentages go up, ranging from 4.94 to 5.18.

■ In neighbourhoods inhabited by employees and workers, the percentages are significantly higher: from 7.78 to 12.54.

■ Consequently, we can say that this vote is an expression of "the popular classes".

Source: Dimitris Psarras



# Charting Gold



Golden Dawn leader  
Nikos Michaloliakos

**2010:**

Party leader and convicted would-be terrorist Nikos Michaloliakos elected to Athens Municipal Council with 5.29% of vote

**May/June 2012:**

Breakthrough in May election with 441,018 votes and 21 MPs, cut to 18 MPs in June election re-run

**June 2012:**

Party spokesman Ilias Kasidiaris (pictured above) throws water at and punches female Communist MP Liana Kanelli on live TV

**June 2012:**

Racist attack on the homes of Egyptian fishermen in Perama near Piraeus

**2007:**

GD resumes activity

**2005:**

GD suspends activity

**2005:**

Involved with Italian terrorist Roberto Fiore's European National Front – joint camp banned

**2004:**

European election performance 0.17%

**1999:**

GD forms football hooligan gang Galazia Stratia

**1996:**

In 1996 national elections, GD won just 4,487 votes (0.07%)

**1995:**

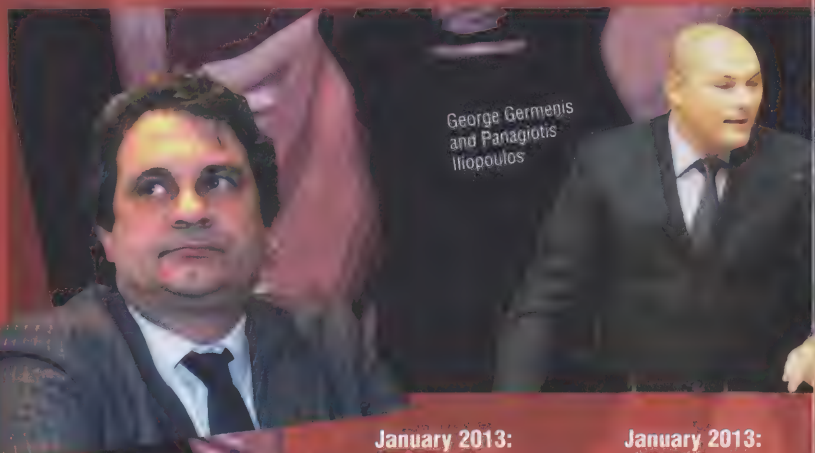
GD members present at Srebrenica massacre of 8,000 Bosnian Muslims and decorated by Serb war criminal Radovan Karadžić

**1994:**

GD wins 0.17% in European election

**1985:**

Golden Dawn (GD) formally established



George Germenis  
and Panagiotis  
Iliopoulos

**January 2013:**

Council of Europe parliamentary assembly ratifies credentials of Eleni Zaroulia, a GD MP and the wife of party leader Michaloliakos, despite her denunciation of immigrants as "subhuman"

**January 2013:**

Racist assassination of 27-year-old Shehzad Luqman (right) by two men on a motorbike. Both believed to be GD supporters

**January 2013:**

Pakistani migrant fatally stabbed in central Athens by two Greeks, one a fireman. Police find GD material at one of the attackers' homes

**May 2013:**

Athens mayor George Kaminis bans GD food handout as racist. GD MP George Germenis detained after punching a 12-year-old girl

**May 2013:**

23-year-old Fay Bahla beaten by her boyfriend, Vangelis Stefanakis, a GD member



Italian terrorist  
Roberto Fiore



Serb war  
criminal  
Radovan  
Karadžić



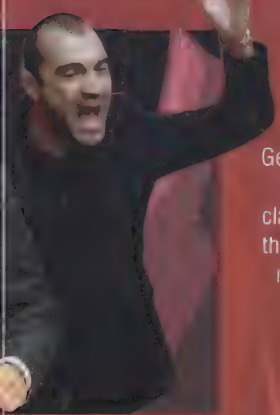
football  
hooligan  
gang  
Galazia  
Stratia



# Golden Dawn

## August 2012:

Iraqi man stabbed to death by four GD thugs on motorbike patrol



## September 2012:

GD terror against the Tanzanian community in central Athens. Anti-fascist activists arrested and tortured in the Athens police HQ

## September 2012:

GD MPs George Germanis and Panagiotis Iliopoulos lead black-clad detachment of party thugs to open-air market near Athens to smash stalls of unlicensed migrant peddlers

## October 2012:

GD demands details of immigrant children in kindergartens and foreign students in universities



## May 2013:

GD starts food handouts to poor and unemployed in Athens and other locations



## 12 September 2013:

Eight Communists putting up posters in Perama are attacked by a large group of GD thugs wielding nail-studded clubs and are hospitalised

## 3 October 2013:

Michaloliakos held in custody on charges of murder, assault, money laundering and forming a criminal organisation

## 28 September 2013:

Police raid GD premises across Greece uncovering at Michaloliakos's home a portrait of Hitler, three firearms and €40,000 of unaccounted-for cash

## 28 September 2013:

Greek anti-terror police arrest Michaloliakos along with party spokesman and MP Ilias Kassidiaris, two other lawmakers and a dozen party members

## 26 September 2013:

Michaloliakos threatens to order the mass resignation of GD's 18 MPs, which will cause by-elections in 15 regions around the country

## 19 September 2013:

Greek PM Antonis Samaras says he will not allow "the descendants of the Nazis" to "commit crimes" and "terrorise" Greece as thousands demonstrate against fascism

## 18 September 2013:

Roupakias charged with murder of Pavlos Fyssas

## 18 September 2013:

Anti-fascist singer Pavlos Fyssas fatally stabbed in ambush by GD gang. Alleged killer, George Roupakias, is immediately arrested and confesses his GD affiliation to police





# Aging skins fl

by Nick Lowles

BETWEEN 800 and 1,000 people attended the Ian Stuart Memorial gig in late September, making it the largest white power concert in the UK for over 20 years. The gig, held in a field in Northampton, marked the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the death of Ian Stuart Donaldson, who headed up the band Skrewdriver and was the founder and figurehead of the Blood and Honour movement.

While the event organisers were overjoyed with the turnout, it appears only about 400 of those attending were British and of these most appeared in their 40s and 50s. The rest were from overseas, including 350-400 from Germany, 50 from Italy and smaller contingents from France, Spain, Slovenia, Slovakia and even Australia.

The event was supposed to have been a Blood and Honour event though many people would have been forgiven in thinking that it was Ginger Rob's show. The veteran Essex nazi, who heads up the Blood and Honour security team, organised the event under his Rampage Productions label. The flyer for the gig hardly mentioned Blood and Honour, and, as is now customary for B&H gigs, even the PA system was hired off the ginger-haired nazi.

Rampage Productions also had the largest stall at the event and Rob organised the cash bar, which sold a plethora of drinks from beer to spirits.

## Local concern

The event started on the Friday evening and continued well into Saturday night.

Among the British bands performing were Nemesis, Blackout, Whitelaw, Legion of St George, Brutal Attack, March or Die and Redneck 28.

From other countries in Europe came Sleipnir, Los Confederados, Gesto Belica and Legittima Offesa. The supposed headline act was the US white power singer Griffin, who was over in Europe for three weeks.

In addition to Rampage Productions, other stalls included Blood and Honour, the National Front, British Movement and Nemesis.

A minute's silence was organised by Benny Bullman, from Whitelaw, who was a close friend of Stuart-Donaldson at the time of his death.

The event caused panic in the local community, with the duty manager of a nearby pub telling HOPE not hate of her concern for her Asian staff. There was also nervousness at the nearby Tesco, as skinhead bootboys traipsed in to buy cheap booze.

Meanwhile, over in Switzerland, Will Browning's C18 were having their own ISD memorial gig. The event, which was held near to the Italian border, was attended by 300-350 people from Switzerland, Austria, France, Germany and the UK.

Questions must also be asked about the hosting and monitoring of the event. The police appeared well aware of the event but had no officers stationed nearby. Local councillors, however, appeared oblivious.

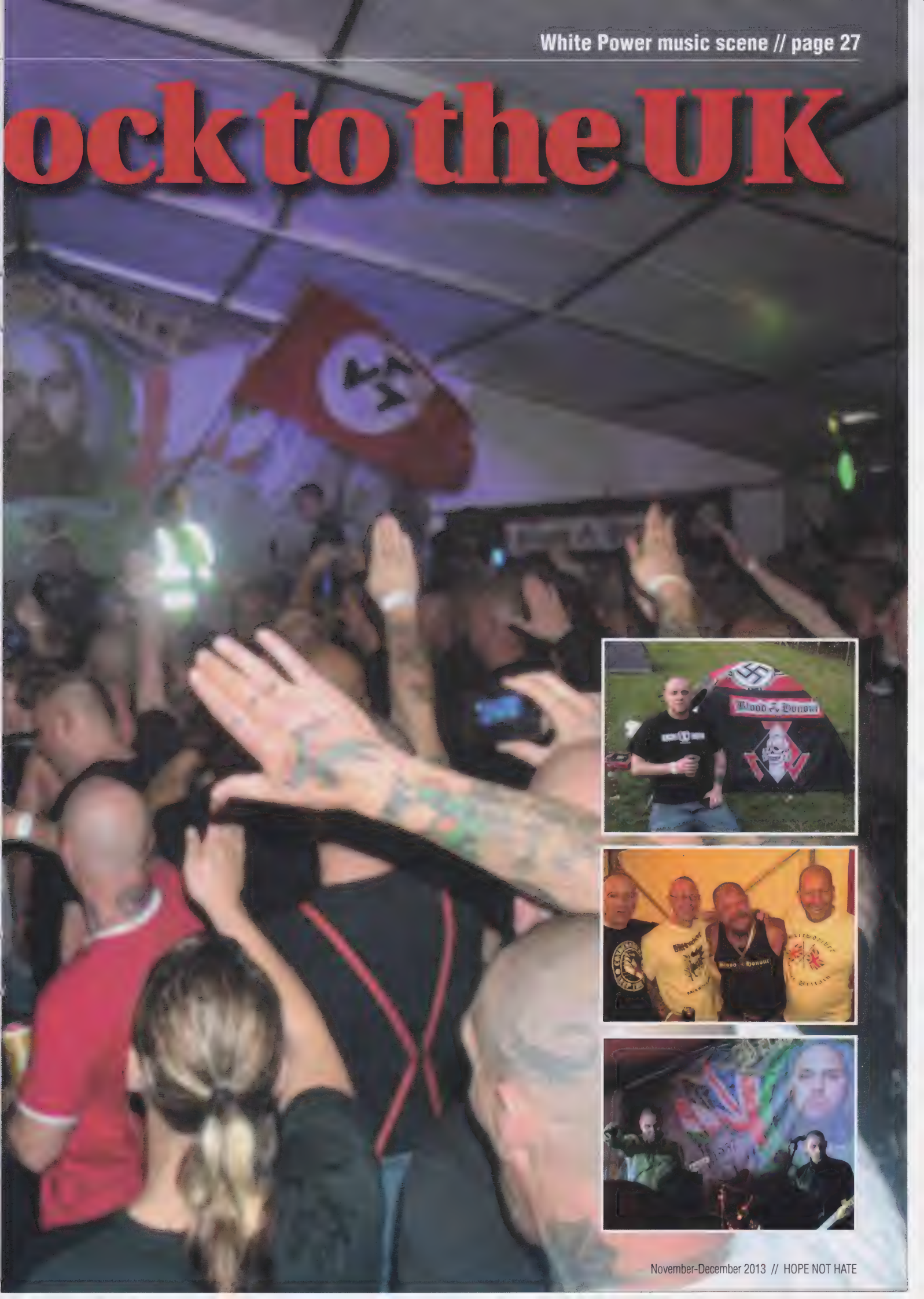
Even allowing for free entry to bands, the organisers must have taken over £18,000 in ticket sales alone. Thousands more would have been raised through the cash bar, food vans and merchandise.

HOPE not hate has contacted HMRC and has asked the council's licencing authorities whether they had given permission for a cash bar. We await their replies.





# ock to the UK





# A drain on our

**Dave Porter** looks behind the lurid headlines to discover the truth behind the claims that immigrants are abusing our health service

LENKA Tomcakova came to the UK for a better life – and that did not include signing up for benefits.

The 31 year old from Slovakia is typical of many young eastern European workers who have chosen to make Britain their home – confident, articulate and highly qualified.

The daughter of teachers from a small town called Presov, Lenka came to the UK six years ago to further her language skills and forge a new and independent life for herself.

Lenka has a master's degree in management and is proud of the fact that not only has she never claimed benefits in the UK since arriving here, she never even claimed welfare benefits she was entitled to while living in Slovakia. Despite having a well-paid job as a telecoms manager in her home country, she decided that moving to Britain would be the best move for her.

She settled in Manchester and found work as an au pair for a family, allowing her to improve her English and giving her the free time to take a course as a teaching assistant.

Tellingly, she says of the course: "I was the only person on the course who paid the fees. The rest of the people had the fees paid for by the government. They were getting it for free and I was paying."

All the other students were UK nationals.

After completing the course, Lenka took up work

at a play centre before settling into her present job as a supervisor in a car rental company in Manchester. But such is the bond she made with the family she first worked as an au pair for that she still lives there as a lodger.

Lenka says that on the whole British people are "friendly, lovely and helpful" but that there have been occasions where she has felt that people judge her because of her eastern European background.

"I've never been out of work since I've been in the UK and I've never taken any benefits. I would rather walk the streets looking for a job than take benefits. I did not come here for the benefits.

"The benefit for me coming here was to improve

my English, especially my business English. Even in Slovakia – where you can claim when you come out of university – I never took anything from my government."

Lenka, who visits her family three or four times per year, says that while living in the UK has been an entirely "positive experience" she would like to apply for a visa to live and work in America at some stage in the future.

Despite Lenka's story, a miasma of misinformation and prejudice is currently being directed at the public by the media and politicians eager to capitalise on people's fear of unfettered immigration.

'Benefits tourism' has suddenly become the bête

noir not just of the right but of mainstream politicians seeking a scapegoat in a time of austerity.

The Coalition government is on a legal collision course with the European Commission over its attempts to tighten the current 'right to reside' rules for EU migrants – in particular their right to claim state benefits in the host country.

The Immigration Bill working its way through Parliament proposes to introduce a 'health surcharge' for what it terms temporary migrants before they are allowed into the country. The surcharge will grant them free access to NHS services and will be refunded to them when and if they leave the UK and is an attempt to crack down on what's been termed 'health tourism'.

Proposals are for a charge of £200 per year on migrants who are not in the European Economic Area – which the government says will raise £200m per year.

But the reality is that Britain already has laws preventing people from travelling to the UK simply to take advantage of the NHS, and has arrangements with countries round the world whereby it can claw back the cost of care if their citizens require NHS care while they are on holiday or working here.

Critics of the current bill say that if the government collected this money more efficiently it would more than make up for any perceived cost to the NHS.

Matthew Evans, director of



*"The strain in hot-spots, like my own constituency of Peterborough, is very, very acute, and I think that's why we're right to be saying there is an element of benefit tourism, particularly from the Czech Republic and Slovakia, and the Government is absolutely right to be saying to the European Commission, 'Thus far and no further'."*

Conservative backbench MP Stewart Jackson



# NHS?

Lenka Tomcakova from Slovakia is typical of many young eastern European workers who have chosen to make Britain their home – confident, articulate and highly qualified

the AIRE Centre (Advice on Individual Rights in Europe), said: "In 2011-12, the NHS officially spent £33m on treating foreign nationals, £21m of which was recovered. This means that just £12m, or 0.01 per cent of the health service's £109bn annual budget, was lost to 'health tourists'."

He said it is only a "tiny number" of EU countries who are worried about 'health tourism', none of whom have produced evidence to back up their concerns, and recent media coverage is finally cottoning on to the fact that net migration has significant economic as well as cultural value for the host country".

There is more than a touch of irony in these proposals, as the NHS was in many ways built on the backs of migrant workers. The need to recruit doctors, nurses and other health professionals to the NHS – as well as porters, cooks and other low-grade jobs – was evident from its creation in 1948.

A History and Policy report by Stephanie Snow and Emma Jones on immigration and the NHS shows that we have always relied on overseas workers to resolve staffing crises. They estimate that 30% of doctors and 40% of nurses working in the NHS are recruited from abroad. Another interesting fact is that something like 30% of staff in the NHS are from ethnic minorities.

Regular overseas recruitment drives meant that by the 1970s more than 10,000 student nurses had

been recruited from abroad, 66% from the Caribbean. With an estimated 30,000 nurses leaving the profession by the 80s, the push to recruit from abroad gained even greater intensity and by the end of the century major drives to recruit nurses from places such as India were underway.

As for doctors, by 1960 more than 30% of those working in the NHS hailed from India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka, the report states. With more than a touch of irony, Enoch Powell led a campaign to recruit 18,000 overseas doctors when he was health minister. By 1971, 30% of NHS doctors were from overseas and by 1997 the percentage of NHS doctors born and trained abroad stood at 44%. So while immigration was being tightened in the '60s and '70s the reality was the demand for overseas workers for the NHS had never been higher.

Snow and Jones point to this as the "contradictory pattern" of successive governments trying to cut immigration to appease what they see as populist demands, while at the same time launching recruitment drives for overseas workers, particularly for the NHS.





# FACT FILE

- UK benefits law states that EU migrants seeking work (known as 'EEA nationals') are entitled to Jobseeker's allowance, housing benefit and council tax benefit, as well as other benefits British nationals would
- When working EU migrants are entitled to in-work benefits such as housing benefit
- They may also be eligible for means-tested benefits if they fall ill, have an accident or are unable to work for other reasons.
- Permanent residents and family members can also claim benefits

They conclude in their report: "History shows that it is in the UK's long-term interests to ensure that future generations of overseas health workers operating in a global market will choose to work in the NHS."

This point is backed up by Professor Christian Dustmann at the Centre for Research and Analysis of Migration (CReAM), based at UCL in London, who says: "Overseas workers are very important to keep the NHS going."

Together with colleagues at CReAM, Professor Dustmann has conducted several important studies into migration into the UK, and EU migration in particular. One focusing on EU enlargement after inclusion of the so-called 'A8' countries – the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Slovakia, Slovenia and Poland – showed that migrants are "less likely" to be claiming benefits and living in social housing and pointed to their "positive contribution to the UK fiscal system, paying more in taxes than they receive in direct and indirect public transfers such as benefits, NHS healthcare and education."

The study laid claim to be the most comprehensive analysis of data so far of the financial consequences of EU migration to the UK. It showed that migrants are 60% less likely to claim benefits to which they are entitled and that they pay 37% more in direct or indirect taxes than the public services and goods they receive. This is despite

them often starting off in low-paid jobs when they first arrive in the UK.

Professor Dustmann told HOPE not hate: "We have recently conducted another study with eight immigrants who came to the UK in 2004 which shows that they contribute significantly more to the tax and benefits system than they take out. Immigrants to the UK are very highly skilled compared to the average UK national, they have on average higher skills than the white natives.

"They often start in jobs below their measured qualification, which is a form of downgrading, but then move swiftly up. We also found that overall immigrants who came to the UK stay for at least one year and that after five years 40% have left."

He said the pull of migrants to the UK reflected the desire on the part of many to better their language skills and learn better English, as well as job prospects at home.

"But this happens in the UK and Ireland. The bleaker the economy is at home the more likely it is that people will emigrate. In the '80s in the UK lots of builders went to Europe to try and find work," he said.

A major new study just released shows that 'medical tourism' brings in millions of pounds for the government. 18 hospitals alone earned £42m in one year from overseas patients, according to research by the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine and York University.

As European Commission spokesman Jonathan

Todd states: "The more EU migrants you have, the better off your welfare system is."

The EC's own study on EU migrants showed that those seeking to work abroad account for a "very small" share of the overall population. In the UK it is estimated at 1.2%.

The small number of what's called economically "inactive" migrants is made up of students, spouses, and pensioners, as well as those still looking for work.

And the uncomfortable truth for those depicting EU migrants as lazy benefit scroungers is that evidence shows that they are more likely to be in work than their British counterparts. The EC study concludes that the "main motivation of EU citizens to migrate and reside in a different member state is benefit-related as opposed to work or family-related."

Ruth Grove-White, policy director at Migrant Rights Network, says there is plenty of "robust" evidence of the economic benefits migrants bring to Britain.

"It's really important that this issue does not get tangled up and that migrants effectively become scapegoats for wider problems in the system. There is plenty of evidence about housing shortages and the bumps and lumps of the welfare system, as well as the lack of jobs in lots of parts of the country. But the profile of the majority of migrants from the EU is one of young, well-educated, highly-skilled people who intend to come for short

periods of time," she said.

EU member states such as the UK must abide by European legislation regarding migrant workers and entitlement to benefits. As well as enjoying freedom of movement within the EU, workers must be paid benefits if they pass a standard eligibility test. The current stand-off between the UK and the EU is because the government here wants to restrict access to benefits.

The EU accuses Britain of denying migrants benefits they are entitled to – hence the threat of legal action through the European Court of Justice.

As European Employment Commissioner Laszlo Andor states: "The study makes clear that the majority of mobile EU citizens move to another member state to work and puts into perspective the dimension of the so-called benefit tourism, which is neither widespread nor systematic."

Press reports have talked of huge swathes of jobless migrants claiming benefits, bleeding the country of £1.5bn per year. The reality is somewhat different. By the government's own calculations, the number of EU migrants claiming jobseekers' allowance stands at 60,000 people, a tiny fraction of the overall population.

On the flipside, it's estimated that migrants account for 2% of the country's GDP, or some £60bn – hardly a drain on the economy.



# Protecting democracy or an attack on free speech?

**Ruth Smeeth** on the Coalition Government's much-anticipated Gagging Bill

THE DAY BEFORE MPs went back to their constituencies for the summer break the Coalition Government published its much-anticipated legislation on lobbying. The political elite were apparently seeking to prevent the next big political scandal and rebuild trust in politics. As David Cameron stated: "It is the next big scandal waiting to happen. It's an issue that crosses party lines and has tainted our politics for too long, an issue that exposes the far-too-cosy relationship between politics, government, business and money."

While HOPE not hate applauds the intention, the reality is proving to be somewhat different. Rather than hamper the activities of lobbyists, the bill had a surprise for civil society organisations such as ours. The Transparency of Lobbying, Non-Party Campaigning and Trade Union Administration Bill, otherwise known as the Gagging Bill, effectively puts HOPE not hate (and all campaigning charities and organisations including political blogs) out of action. See insert for details of the proposals.

HOPE not hate has joined with a range of organisations, from 38 Degrees to the TaxPayers' Alliance to try and stop or amend the Bill. But so far our successes have been limited to the Government tidying up the language rather than making any substantive amendments. In the House of Commons, MPs split along party lines with the Liberal Democrats and Conservatives overwhelmingly supportive and all opposition party MPs voting against the Bill. The fight for

freedom of speech now moves to the House of Lords, where we hope to make more inroads.

Opposition to the Gagging Bill has united a range of strange bedfellows from the Countryside Alliance to the League Against Cruel Sports and 100 other groups in between. However, criticism of the Gagging Bill from within Westminster itself has been the most damning: the Electoral Commission, the Joint Parliamentary Committee on Human Rights, the Political & Constitutional Reform Select Committee and the newly-convened Commission on Civil Society have all attacked the bill. HOPE not hate will continue to lead the charge against it, for updates check our website on how you can help. ●



Campaign groups and charities came together to place this advert in several national newspapers

## How the Bill will impact on the HOPE not hate campaign

The proposals will:

- Cut the maximum amount HOPE not hate can spend in the 12 months before the election by up to 70% and make it a criminal offence to exceed the limit. In total we would be limited to £390,000 across the British Isles. National political parties can spend up to £18.96 million in an election period. HOPE not hate will be restricted to 2% of the expenditure available to the BNP.

- Dramatically widen the scope of activities that need to be incorporated into our costs. These will now include staff time, organising events, the development and publication of policy papers and even research time that goes into blogs, websites and leaflets. While placing these new restrictions on organisations like HOPE not hate, the Government has decided that political parties do not have to include staff costs in their returns as they are too difficult to work out!

- Limit total spending to £9,750 per constituency in the 12 months before the election. When including staff and design costs this will significantly limit our ability to participate in grassroots campaigning activity in areas particularly vulnerable to the politics of hate.

- Restrict our ability to build coalitions against racism with other organisations, as any costs accrued by a coalition will need to be "aggregated" (meaning that HOPE not hate would have to declare within our reported expenses the full amount spent on the joint campaign, regardless of how much we contribute).

- Place more rigorous restrictions on HOPE not hate in an election period, than those faced by the BNP, the National Front or any other political party



# PURPLE RAIN

## PUTTING UKIP UNDER THE SPOTLIGHT

### UKIP's conference crash lands

*Simon Cressy on the media coverage surrounding this years UKIP national conference*

NEVER BEFORE has a national conference by the UK Independence Party received as much media coverage as it received in 2013.

UKIP has started to show signs of a potential breakthrough in the British political landscape and all eyes were directed towards The Methodist Central Hall in Westminster where the party held its national conference in September.

However, things didn't go quite to plan with most of the conference headlines making bad reading for Nigel Farage and his xenophobic party.

On the eve of the Westminster conference, Channel 4 news revealed it had obtained a letter dating back to Nigel Farage's schooldays at Dulwich College where some of his teachers described him as being "racist" and "fascist", and according to one of his former teachers, Farage with some of his friends marched through a Sussex village singing Hitler Youth songs while at the local cadet camp.

The UKIP leader dismissed Channel 4's accusations, claiming the idea of him singing Hitler Youth songs was "baloney" However, he admitted that he had done "some ridiculous things," adding: "Not necessarily racist things. It depends how you define it."

Nigel Farage was given live TV coverage of his opening speech on the BBC, an unheard of opportunity for the right wing party. Yet the leader flattered to deceive, sweating profusely and frequently looking down at his notes. Farage appeared a shadow of his media-friendly image, that of the average man down the pub complete with a pint and cigarette in his hand.

#### **Gaffe prone**

Yet sweaty shirts and disjointed speeches were the least of Farage's problems. In his speech he spoke about the amount of scrutiny and attention that was now being paid to his party and its representatives.

Farage said: "We have some people with overactive Facebook accounts. I had the most blistering row with Godfrey Bloom in a Strasbourg restaurant the other day. He wants to fight for his beliefs and I was saying that we need to stick to the big messages."

Farage was of course referring to the Yorkshire MEP's many faux pas, such as his recent reference to "Bongo Bongo Land" which generated a great deal of unwanted headlines.

Bloom, ever the clown prince, wasn't to let his audience down. Just hours after Farage had finished his



Making headlines Godfrey Bloom  
Photo: Euro Realist Newsletter

speech, Bloom was hitting the headlines again for all the wrong reasons.

Attending a fringe meeting called to promote women's advancements into politics, Bloom told the audience including Nigel Farage's wife Kirsten: "This room is full of sluts".

#### **Bad headlines**

Not content with the one gaffe, Bloom headed for the full-house, hitting a journalist over the head with a copy of the UKIP conference brochure after he was asked why there was no black or Asian faces among the photographs on the front cover.

Later Bloom was to ask the BBC reporter Allegra Stratton if her mother had ever called her a slut and also threatened Yorkshire TV reporter Paul

Bland with violence should he ask him any questions that he didn't like.

Farage was less than impressed, declaring that Godfrey Bloom had been selfish and overshadowed his speech and the conference with his behaviour. He told the media that: "There is no media coverage of this conference. It's gone, it's dead, it's all about Godfrey hitting a journalist and using an unpleasant four-letter word".

He continued: "We can't have any one individual, however fun or flamboyant or entertaining or amusing they are, destroying UKIP's national conference and that is what he's done today. I'm sad about that but we can't tolerate this."

Farage referred the matter to the highly unpopular chairman of the party Steve Crowther who removed the party whip from Bloom pending a disciplinary hearing.

Falling on his sword, Bloom resigned as a UKIP MEP just a few days later, promising to continue his EU work as an Independent MEP, despite remaining a UKIP party member.

UKIP's national conference did what it had set out to do, making the front page of every newspaper in the land.

It was just the wrong set of headlines.



# Something we've said?

**UKIP's decision to proscribe HOPE not hate comes after a series of highly-embarrassing exposes we ran of UKIP organisers, candidates and activists. Rather than dealing with these issues, UKIP has decided to shoot the messenger. Here are some of our exposes:**

## ■ Chris Pain

After initially being accused of making racist posts on a social network, Lincolnshire county councillor and leader of the UKIP group, Chris Pain, was suspended from UKIP and sacked as group leader following a split within the local party.

It also transpired that Pain was embroiled in a bloody dispute with UKIP party chairman Steve Crowther.

Pain went on to form a breakaway group on the council, taking five of his UKIP colleagues with him and splitting the UKIP contingent in two.

Crowther called an emergency disciplinary meeting and promptly expelled Pain from the national party.

## ■ Robert Ray

We revealed that the Thurrock UKIP councillor was previously a NF organiser and candidate in Newham. He claims to still stand by his NF election literature.

## ■ Alexandra Phillips

Phillips, who describes herself as head of media for Nigel Farage and UKIP, made a catalogue of offensive comments on social media, mocking people with disabilities.

## ■ Slavi Binev

We reported that guest speaker at UKIP's 2013 conference, Bulgarian MEP Slavi Binev, was revealed by Wikileaks as an organised crime group leader whose criminal activities include prostitution, drugs, and trafficking stolen automobiles.

## ■ David Kendrick

was confirmed as the UKIP PPC for Cambridge in September 2013. We revealed that Kendrick was involved with a betting scandal in 2012 where he was found to have committed corrupt and fraudulent acts. The British Horseracing Authority banned Kendrick from attending races for four years.

## ■ Henry Reilly

HOPE not hate revealed that Northern Ireland's UKIP candidate for the 2014 European Elections called for the public to support Syrian dictator Bashar al-Assad.

## ■ Dean Perks

Prospective parliamentary candidate Perks announced at a UKIP meeting in Coventry that he supported some parts of sharia law and advocated the amputation of limbs as a punishment for theft. Unfortunately for Perks, the meeting was uploaded to Youtube and HOPE not hate discovered it.

## ■ David Ginley

We discovered that new Calderdale UKIP chairman David Ginley had a colourful past. Former councillor Ginley was embroiled in controversy in 1993 after being found guilty for electoral fraud. In 2003, he appeared before magistrates again, admitting two charges of forgery.

He was again arrested by police in 2010 on suspicion of electoral fraud. Two years later in 2012 he was kicked out of the local Conservative Party after they accused him of "unethical practices" by allegedly asking someone to stand as a 'Liberal' candidate undermining the election prospects of the Liberal Democrat Party candidate.

## ■ Robin Cook

East Riding UKIP treasurer and prospective parliamentary candidate Cook posted a collection of his bigoted views for all to see on Twitter.

## ■ Tony Nixon

UKIP activist Nixon, from North Yorkshire, made large numbers of offensive and racist posts on his Facebook page, including sick racist jokes and offensive racist images of US President Barack Obama. Following our exposure, police arrested the UKIP activist and launched an investigation into his online activities.

## ■ Ramsay Urquhart

Glasgow-based Urquhart, a former parliamentary candidate and councillor for UKIP, posted a "step-by-step guide to exploiting your child for cold hard cash". He asks if anyone has a severely disabled child and would they be prepared to take advantage of the condition of their child?

The sick guide suggests the reader continues the process "until your child's miserable existence is over".

## ■ Brian Higginson

UKIP's Lagan Valley spokesman Brian Higginson was revealed to be a supporter of The Chelsea Headhunters, a notorious hooligan gang which actively supported various white supremacist organisations such as Combat 18 and the National Front, and Northern Irish loyalist paramilitary organisations, such as the Ulster Defence Association and Ulster Volunteer Force.

(left to right ) Alexandra Phillips, Chris Pain, Robert Ray, David Ginley and Ramsay Urquhart





# HOPE not hate on tour

By Ruth Smeeth

There is no such thing as a normal week or month for the HOPE not hate team. As much as we try to plan for the year ahead you never know what or who is going to be your focus or where in the country our efforts will be most needed. The one exception to this is meant to be the political party conference season. The dates are set years in advance and the venues are announced months before, so in theory this part of our work should be simple.

Over the summer it became evident that the Coalition Government had surreptitiously proposed new legislation which threatened the very future of HOPE not hate and our ability to engage in the democratic process. An update on this legislation, known as the Transparency of Lobbying, Non-Party Campaigning and Trade Union Administration, is provided on page 31. It was clear that HOPE not hate needed to mobilise with wider civil society organisations to raise the profile of the bill and its impact on the voluntary and charitable sector. Conference season had a new level of importance and urgency.

TUC Congress was the first stop on our conference tour. The HOPE not hate team, old and new, were in Bournemouth to meet with comrades including the new, and first ever female, General Secretary of the TUC, Frances O'Grady. Hundreds of copies of *HOPE not hate* magazine were distributed to union delegates and it was a pleasure to meet with so many trade union delegates and outline the impact of the Gagging Bill not only to HOPE not hate but also to the TUC and the affiliate trade unions.



(above) HOPE not hate at the Liberal Democrats conference in Glasgow

Our conference roadshow moved onto Glasgow, where the Liberal Democrats were meeting for their annual gathering. Working as part of a broader coalition, HOPE not hate worked hard to engage with LIB Dem activists and MP's on the Gagging Bill. Outlining the threats posed by this illiberal and undemocratic bill, we organised an emergency fringe meeting outside the secure zone, where Stephen Williams MP (Bristol West) was the keynote speaker and he was joined by a panel representing the complete range of civil society, HOPE not hate, the Barrow Cadbury Trust, Christian Aid, the Countryside Alliance, Friends of the Earth and 38 Degrees.

## Campaigning heroes

Next stop was further along the south coast as the HOPE not hate team joined friends and colleagues in Brighton at the Labour Party conference. The focus was on next year's European elections, the end of the BNP and the emerging threat of UKIP.

But all work and no play makes HOPE not hate a very dull organisation, so Brighton was home to the now annual 'HnH curry', which this year was supported by the *Daily Mirror* and Unions Together. HOPE not hate and Labour activists, MPs, trade unionists and our patrons

were among 150 people who enjoyed a fantastic curry with our friends from the *Daily Mirror*.

This is our annual 'Thank-You' to people on the ground who are the real HOPE not hate heroes.

The work continued though, with news that UKIP had proscribed HOPE not hate! Apt timing as I addressed over 250 people at the Social & Democrat Group fringe to discuss next year's European Elections and what we have to do to make sure that they are fought on a positive platform which embraces a progressive and hopeful vision of British society rather than one driven by fear and hate.

This debate was continued at our joint fringe on the last day of conference. Sponsored by ASLEF, the meeting asked 'Does Labour have a UKIP problem?' Expecting only 30 people to show up we were delighted to have to change location when over 135 arrived to hear from the *Daily Mirror*'s Kevin Maguire, Glenis Willmott MEP, Mick Whelan ASLEF General Secretary and Nick Lowles, HOPE not hate's CEO. There was a lively discussion and a clear desire by many people to take on UKIP's increasingly hostile rhetoric on immigration and multiculturalism.

HOPE not hate finished conference season in Manchester, with the Conservative Party Conference and returned to the theme of the Gagging Bill, meeting MPs and Lords to discuss potential amendments.

TUC General Secretary Frances O'Grady visits the HOPE not hate team





# White supremacists showcase hate politics

Eric O'Neill reports from Washington DC

THE 2013 LEADERSHIP conference of the American white supremacist National Policy Institute (NPI) this year played host to a collection of prominent European right wing theorists and pseudo-philosophers. The conference, held in the Polaris Suite of the imposing Ronald Reagan building in downtown Washington DC, was called 'After the Fall: The Future of Identity'.

The NPI, set up in 2005, by far right publisher William Regnery, is now run by Richard Bertraud Spencer who recently attended the 'Future of the Nation State' conference held by the Traditional Britain Group in London in October.

The group, which has worked hard to foster an image of respectability, has been described by the Southern Poverty Law Centre (SPLC) as a "white supremacist" and beneath the sometimes-coded language of "identity" and "immigration" is the hateful politics of race.

The full day conference was bookended by a drinks reception on the Friday evening and a brunch on the Sunday. A brief introduction by Spencer was followed by the Swiss author Piero San Giorgio, whose apocalyptic predictions of post-peak oil environmental and social breakdown started as an ecological warning and ended with a call for a return to rural self-sufficiency.

Next came a hate-filled speech from Sam Dickson, who describes himself as a "racial communitarian", which was riddled with

historical falsehoods and wilful misrepresentations and finished with a call for racial unity and a declaration that Abraham Lincoln's Gettysburg Address was "a monstrous thing". On a later panel discussion with William Regnery, co-founder of NPI, he attacked the SPLC as "fascist", called the idea of racial equality "absurd" and declared that "life has never been so sweet as before the mixing of races in schools".

A key aspect of the NPI and like-minded European groups is their self-appointed position as the ideological vanguard of the far right and the publication and dissemination of their pseudo-philosophies is an important part of their activity. Thus, a panel on publications followed with contributions from John Morgan of the publisher *Arktos*, which translates and reissues New Right and esoteric fascist literature. Currently based in India, *Arktos* is in the process of moving to Budapest. Surprisingly for publishers of such extreme literature, a recent publication of theirs received a review in the *Times Literary Supplement*. Also on the panel was Andy Nowicki, co-editor of the website *Alternative Right*.

## New right

A fiery speech by novelist and writer Alex Kurtagic followed which called for a "moral critic of egalitarianism based on traditionalism" and called a world of equality a "world without meaning". The UK-based, Spanish-born speaker

avoided out and out racism by relying on the increasingly popular coded language of culturism, which talks of the preservation of difference.

Kurtagic's subtlety was plainly missing from the presentation of the intensely arrogant French journalist Roman Bernard, whose speech was littered with references to "queers" and "blacks". Bernard, who was joint host with Spencer, is affiliated to the European 'Identitarian' movement and the American Alternative Right.

However, not to be outdone, the most offensive rant of the conference came from Jack Donovan who calls for a "resurgence of tribalism, honour, and manly virtue", code for racism, sexism and homophobia. He called for a "barbarianism" by which he means an outsider identity living separate from society. His speech, which attacked women's liberation, LGBT rights and talked of race as "blood and heritage", also called for people to create white-only communities.

The day ended with a speech by Tomislav Sunic, the Croatian author and adviser to the American Freedom Party, followed by a keynote address by the leading French right-wing theorist Alain De Benoist. De Benoist established the right-wing think-tank GRECE (Research and Study Group for European Civilisation) in the late '60s and is the primary intellectual force behind the European 'New Right'. His highly philosophical musings on the nature of



"racial realist" Jared Taylor, editor of *American Renaissance*

identity, presented in broken English with a heavy accent, finished the day on a subdued note with none of the fiery extremism of earlier speakers.

Watching intently all day and taking detailed notes was Jared Taylor, the editor of *American Renaissance* who describes himself as a "racial realist" who pedals pseudo-scientific and empirical "evidence" for his racial theories. Like many others at the event, he has also recently spent time in the UK where he addressed a meeting of the Bloomsbury Forum in Hammersmith and met with the British Democratic Party leader, Andrew Brons.

Also in attendance were the right-wing author Tito Perdu, Matt Parrot, Director of the Traditionalist Youth Network and leading member of the American Freedom Party (formerly the American Third Position) Kevin MacDonald. The conference was truly a Who's Who? of the self-appointed intelligentsia of the racial right.

While the conference shows increasing links being formed between European and North American "theorists", the question remains of how much influence these talking shops actually have on the ideas and ideology of the far right. ●



# BNP rallies its youth

by *Matthew Collins*

THE BRITISH National Party (BNP) was rocked when its youth leader and editor of its youth periodical, Tony LeComber, was convicted in 1985 on explosive charges relating to an attempt to blow up the headquarters of a small left wing organisation in London. The-then leader, John Tyndall, vowed to never allow a youth section of the party again.

Its young leadership, led by Nick Griffin, made plans for the future of the British far-right. He reinvented himself as a friendly fascist some years later to replace the aged Tyndall as leader of the BNP.

Griffin is sold on the idea of youth as his and the party's saviour. Once led by his daughter Jennifer, the BNP's youth wing (YBNP) was at one time invigorated. While membership has tailed off, there is still a small nucleus of young members around the country in further or higher education susceptible to a more radical future in British Nationalism.

Up and down the country, YBNP members are being encouraged to speak at meetings and sniff out the possibilities of cultural societies on campus.

The party newspaper now has "Teach yourself nationalism" sections, and both the Coventry Organisers' conference and the Blackpool members conferences, held this year, were almost dominated by young speakers on the dangers of "Zionism" and a push for greater use of social media.

Whether Griffin is wholly attempting one more trip up the revolutionary garden path to political oblivion is unlikely. But with the impending disaster of the 2014 Euro Elections and the excuses and the conspiracy that should follow in mind, the path is now being fully prepared.

In 2009, nearly one million votes and the election of two MEPs was seen by Griffin as a vindication of the strategy. The Nazis in the BNP, prone to shifting uncomfortably in their chairs but always with grudging approval and admiration of Griffin's tenacious political acumen, saw themselves as the party's slightly weathered elite. Although many had long term political gripes and grievances against Griffin, the BNP sat on a 15,000



strong membership, many of whom were brilliantly shielded not just from the true political nature of the BNP, but also from themselves. In one notorious incident, then Deputy Leader Simon Darby had to race across the country to halt one television interview, wary of another excruciating embarrassment like the 2008 documentary 'BNP Wives' happening again.

In 2010 the BNP went into political freefall and the "advisory council" split into a cocktail of warring factions.

Griffin had already seen off a leadership challenge by Chris Jackson in 2007, but in 2010 came the Decembrists, Richard Edmonds, Eddy Butler, the Richard Branbrook scandals, the growth of the EDL and a growing discontent with the role within the party of the Belfast-based mafia led by Jim Dowson, the party's dubious fundraiser.

The election campaign had been a disaster and the cashflow and the goodwill the party had created was drying up.

With a number of damaging, smear blogs popping up and targeting the BNP leader and exposing to the membership Griffin and those around him, Griffin called a "council of war." The unlikely and ridiculous upshot was the forming of a group called the "attack dogs", a collection of bored housewives, a glamour model and a pornographer all working under the direction of the party's head office in Cumbria, distracting themselves from party politics to fight an

outrageous and often illuminating war of words over the internet.

In 2012, Griffin was instructed by his wife Jackie to put the party back into shape. She had become increasingly agitated by the behaviour of BNP members around Griffin. In charge of approving the expenses of BNP personnel on the Brussels and party pay rolls, she made a point by refusing to sign off a series of expenses of leading personnel.

The BNP's other problem was recruitment. They were hampered by a lack of funds from new members. The EDL had severely dented their position as the go-to people on the right of the political spectrum. UKIP was also starting to roll into action. Thousands of members thought the party was over as soon as the 2010 election results were in.

Griffin was becoming increasingly enamoured with a young student studying at Liverpool University. Law student Jack Buckby was pushing what he called "national culturism", a mish-mash of right wing student radicalism with himself as the new Messiah. Frightfully middle class and self-promoting, as Griffin had been himself while at Oxford, Griffin was drawn to Buckby. Buckby found himself invited into Griffin's inner circle.

"I soon discovered that a large proportion of the membership were not only race haters, but conspiracy theorists and anti-Semites," he would complain upon leaving. He was also horrified by the BNP's "socialist" bent.



## Russia

# Racist riots hit Moscow



Murder suspect Orkhan Zeynalov

RUSSIAN INVESTIGATORS have detained a suspect in the murder of an ethnic Russian man whose stabbing to death set off riots involving thousands in Moscow's southern Biryulyovo district.

The suspect, named as Orkhan Zeynalov, 30, a native of Azerbaijan, was held in a town outside Moscow before being taken to the capital. Police said Zeynalov confessed to the crime in an "informal conversation" with officers.

He is being held on suspicion of murdering 25-year-old Egor Sherbakov. His lawyer is quoted as saying: "Zeynalov said during the preliminary interrogation that he committed a murder to defend himself. He defended himself and didn't intend to kill Sherbakov."

The Azerbaijani deputy foreign minister inferred that there is a political motive behind the arrest, stating: "This issue was exaggerated by media and therefore assumed a public character. I want to know who stands behind this campaign,"

On 15 October police detained 276 people protesting against the stabbing, which has raised tensions between ethnic Russians and natives of the predominantly Muslim Caucasus region of Russia, many of whom have migrated to Russian cities for work.

Security has been stepped up to

prevent any repeat of the riots and to dampen down tensions between migrant workers and ethnic Russians, many of whom are young and disenchanted with the state of society.

It is reported that residents of Biryulyovo have demanded tougher measures from police with regard to migrant workers and of vigilante gangs roaming the streets looking for anyone matching the description of Zeynalov.

Following the stabbing, ethnic Russians youths gathered outside a metro station in Biryulyovo and ran amok, attacking buildings in the area and causing hundreds to be temporarily detained by riot police.

The Russian authorities also rounded up more than 1,000 migrant workers, many from the Caucasus, at a vegetable warehouse in their hunt for the killer. Tensions between Russians and natives of the Caucasus region have long been simmering and violence between the two groups has escalated recently.

While the influx of migrant labour is necessary to keep the Russian economy going, it has led to resentment in Moscow and other major Russian cities, with some calling for visa requirements to be imposed for people arriving from Moscow's former satellite states.

## Belgium

# Blood and Honour members brought to court

By Wim Haelsterman for  
**AFF-Verzet/RésistanceS** in  
Brussels.

THE RETRIAL of the 17 members of the Flemish nazi group 'Blood, Soil, Honour and Loyalty' aka BBET ('Bloed, Bodem, Eer en Trouw') opened on 9 October at the correctional court in Dendermonde. The organisation started 12 years ago as part of the Flemish branch of the nazi outfit Blood and Honour. Though discovered only six years ago by state security, it was dismantled straightaway. Some of BBET's key members turned out to be soldiers in the Belgian army and soon after the initial arrests were made the army dismissed four soldiers, the current chief suspects. Police detained 21 nazis, both military and civilian suspects.

The BBET had an impressive collection of weapons. Three hundred items were seized and plans had been hatched to attack the Belgian national bank. There were also plans to murder some political personalities, right-wing extremist Vlaams Belang leader Philip Dewinter being one of them. By killing politicians, the nazi group hoped to provoke a racial civil war in Belgium, a war between the far right and the Muslim minority. The first trial had to be aborted due to sickness of the main judge that was dealing with the case.



BBET ringleader Tomas Boutens was a serving soldier at the time of his arrest



# Austria shifts right in national election

From Martin Jordan in Vienna

Austria's two biggest parties lost further support as voters shifted rightwards in national elections in September. A resuscitated far right Freedom Party (FPÖ) won third place (20.5%) and is now busy trying to pull the rug from under the traditional mainstream parties of the left and right of centre.

Although the sitting chancellor of the centre-left Social Democratic Party (SPÖ), Werner Faymann, defended its position as the strongest party in parliament, the SPÖ had its worst result ever with a paltry 26.8% of the vote. This poor

show was shared by the runner-up centre-right People's Party (ÖVP), which also hit a historic rock bottom of 24%.

Since the end of WWII, these two

parties have dominated public life in Austria and from the 1950s until 1983 together held more than 90% of votes. However, since the late Jörg Haider's rise at the head of the FPÖ in the mid-1980s, they have been on the slide. They are seen as too fusty, too uninspired and too detached from their social base.

The SPÖ is struggling to negotiate another grand coalition with the ÖVP, a move that raises no cheers from Austrian citizens worrying that another five years of deadlock will hamper badly-needed structural reforms.

Faymann rules out the FPÖ as a coalition partner, a continuation of a "strategy of isolation" that until 2000 was maintained by all parliamentary parties to avoid giving any authority or acceptability to far-right ideology. This principle was broken in 2000 when conservative ÖVP chancellor Wolfgang Schüssel entered a coalition with Haider's

FPÖ, resulting

in a political disaster that triggered European Union (EU) sanctions against Austria. Faymann has few cards to play with. Entering in coalition with more than one partner seems too tricky for him and a minority government or going into opposition would be equally risky.

A consequence of the crumbling of the two main voting blocs is that newcomers make it into parliament more easily. In this election, two new parties managed to spring over the election threshold of 4%, while the remainder of Haider's final political project,

the Alliance for the Future of Austria (BZÖ), lost all its seats and faces disintegration.

## Electoral success

The Eurosceptic "Team Stronach" (FRANK) led by Frank Stronach, an 81-year-old Austro-Canadian billionaire, started off well in the opinion polls earlier this year but after continuously putting his foot in his mouth, particularly in TV interviews, Stronach had to content himself with 5.7% and almost immediately started a party overhaul in the distinctly authoritarian manner that has already has gained him questionable fame in Austria.

Caption







The second newcomer, 'Neos', is a merger of the "Liberal Forum" (LIF), a former splinter of the FPÖ, and the small independent party 'Young Liberals Austria'. The main patron of this new party is the wealthy Austrian industrialist and former LIF politician Hans Peter Haselsteiner.

This time around, FPÖ leader Heinz-Christian Strache chose to strike a different note than usual in the prelude to the election and focused on 'pro-Austrian' campaigning instead of resorting to the blatant – mainly anti-Muslim – hate speech used in previous

years. Nevertheless, he never tired of ranting against the EU and stressing nationalist paradigms of cultural and ethnic identity, all the while parading as a 'Good Samaritan' by exploiting Christian buzzwords. 'Brotherly love', for example, was prominently featured on his campaign posters.

Not to be missed, though, was the addition that Strache's 'brothers' are (white) Austrians. Post-election voter surveys show that especially young men with fears for the future are FPÖ's core voters. 29% of all men and 32% of men aged 16-29 voted FPÖ.

Strache's main talking

point after his electoral success is that it is time to abandon hesitations about his party in an attempt to pressure and isolate the left-wing parties, as well as to reinforce the populist "us against them" tactic. All this is being done with an eye on the EU elections in May 2014, and while SPÖ and ÖVP are struggling to establish a grand coalition, Strache is already starting to rally his constituents and campaigners.

Something completely underreported in Austrian mainstream media, but an essential feature of the FPÖ's growing international aspirations, was the flirting

between Strache and Geert Wilders, leader of the Dutch Party for Freedom (PVV). In August, Strache welcomed Wilders to Vienna for talks about possible future cooperation. As Wilders explained: "We [PVV] have more in common with the FPÖ than with the rest of the Dutch Parliament".

The anti-Muslim movement in Europe reacted ecstatically to this meeting, not least because – up to now – Wilders, not unfamiliar with electoral success, has avoided any form of association with groups like the FPÖ whose roots can be traced to historical fascism and Nazism. ●



# ROMANIA Far-right weaker than old hatreds

By Dana Ionescu in Bucharest

ROMANIA DOES not have the far-right problem faced by its neighbours in Hungary, Bulgaria and Ukraine where white supremacist outfits like Jobbik, Ataka and Svoboda, regularly grab headlines nationally and internationally. In Romania, press stories about Romanian nationalist parties or various far-right underground organisations are more rare.

This does not mean that Romania does have an extreme right problem but it has been kept in check because there is not really much need for extreme-right groups when racism and stereotyping especially against Roma, but also against Jews, is found in all mainstream parties, most of the media and some quarters of civil society.

A quick look at the information issued by the Romanian far-right indicates that the Partidul Romania Mare (PRM) is in financial and political decline made worse by internal conflicts.

Meanwhile, Noua Dreapta

(ND) denies being antisemitic but continues to attribute Romania's problems to "the Jews". It also hates minorities of any kind and rants against the EU and NATO.

Though the extreme-right, hanging on the heritage of the pre-war Iron Guard, is largely seen as a busted flush, civil rights activists, political commentators and politicians agree that Romanian society still needs to come to terms with its involvement in the mass murder of Jews during World War II.

## Holocaust denial

In 2003, Romanian culture minister Razvan Theodorescu caused outrage in Israel and Western Europe by claiming that while the Romanian regime during the World War II was "forced" to take part in the Holocaust in territories it had occupied in Bessarabia and Transnistria (now the Republic of Moldova) and Bukovina (now part of Ukraine), no camps had been set up on mainland Romanian soil.



Even 62 years after those unforgivable atrocities took place, chunks of the political class and civil society remain in denial about the Holocaust within Romania's borders.

As a consequence, 2003 saw the birth of the International Commission on the Holocaust in Romania. In 2004, the Elie Wiesel

Institute and the Romanian government issued a joint statement underlining that the wartime Antonescu regime systematically deported Jews living in Bessarabia and Bukovina who died in "forced labour camps" (*de facto* concentration camps) in Transnistria or on the "trains of death" and

## ROMANIA KEY FACTS

### Far-right parties and organisations

#### Partidul Romania Mare

(PRM – 'Great Romania Party').

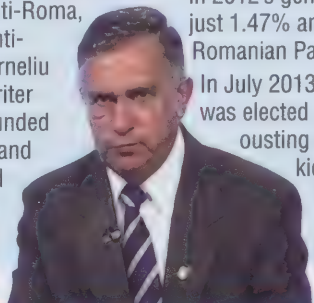
With an estimated 10,000 members, the only nationally relevant party, the PRM is a populist, ultra-nationalist, anti-ethnic Hungarian, anti-Roma, antisemitic and anti-Islamist party. Corneliu Vadim Tudor, a writer and journalist, founded the PRM in 1991 and gained the second largest number of votes in

Romania's presidential elections in 2000.

PRM had three MEPs but one was jailed for three years for corrupt land deals. It has six mayors (out of 3,179) and 596 local councillors (out of 39,121). In the 2008 parliamentary elections, it polled 3.15% of the vote and in 2012's general elections took just 1.47% and has no MPs in the Romanian Parliament.

In July 2013, Gheorghe Funar was elected party president, ousting Tudor who was also kicked out of the party.

PRM president  
Gheorghe Funar



#### 'Noua Dreapta' (ND – 'New Right')

An ultra-nationalist, anti-ethnic Hungarian, anti-Roma, homophobic and ultra-Christian Orthodox movement. Founded in 2000 and with as many as 10,000 members, it is a would-be reincarnation of the WWII

Romanian fascist organisation, part of the nationalist "Greater Romania" movement. Openly opposing democracy, ND is mainly active in Transylvania (Western Romania), is not registered as a political party and cannot run in elections.





orchestrated pogroms in Romania (around 14,000 Jews were killed during the Iasi pogrom of June 1941). It is estimated that between 280,000 and 340,000 Jews and Roma were killed with the active involvement of Antonescu and his Iron

'Gypsyism' still rear their ugly heads in the public arena and in casual conversation.

In March 2012, Dan Sova, spokesperson of the Social Democratic Party (PSD – one of the parties forming the current ruling coalition) boldly stated on TV that “no Jew suffered on Romanian territory, thanks to Marshal Ion Antonescu”, adding absurdly that “historical data indicates that a total of 24 Jews were killed during the Iasi pogrom by the German army”.

The Romanian and international Jewish community, the Wiesel Institute, and Romani CRISS (one of the leading Roma rights charity and campaigning organisations) expressed outrage at Sova's comments.

### Anti-Roma

PSD chairman and now Romanian prime minister, Victor Ponta fired Sova as party spokesman and publicly ordered him to travel to the United States and visit the US Holocaust Memorial Museum for “re-education.” The Wiesel Institute and NGOs praised Sova for his subsequent public self-criticism, his multiple public renunciations of his original statement and his actions to make amends upon his return from Washington.

Anti-“Gypsyism”, however, has not received any such firm rebuke from

governments in power in the past 25 years of Romanian ‘democracy’. It is still encountered in almost all the main political parties and in schools, hospitals, and workplaces, but especially in the countryside where around 45% of Romanians live.

There is almost a consensus that legislation should end anti-Roma discrimination and prejudice but despite concrete examples of successful integration and increasing incidence of intermarriage, there is much work to be done by Romanian society to be the tolerant haven its Government keenly depicts in

European political fora.

In April this year, the Romanian MEP Sebastian Bodu, representing the main opposition Democrat-Liberal Party, claimed a house owner or landowner had the fundamental right to decide not to rent or sell their property or land out to an ethnic Roma, despite ads saying “House for Sale.” Romanian media routinely feature negative stories about Roma, identifying them as “gypsies” – which is, in fact, illegal because the word “Tigan” is completely outlawed by Romanian legislation.



Guard ‘allies’ during the Holocaust in Romania.

A report by the Commission and public admissions of complicity by the authorities in Bucharest did not close old wounds. Despite there being a law prohibiting public denial of the Holocaust and the oppression of Roma and Jews, antisemitism and anti-



**Cluj Napoca:** 15 March 2008: Hungarian National Day of Hungary, ND organised an anti-Hungarian rally. Ensuing violence led to calls from two ethnic Hungarian members of the Romanian Parliament to demand a ban on them.

**Brasov:** 20 November 2010: ND organises ‘Civil Patrol’ vigilantes to patrol the streets, blaming the police's slow response to “the current crime wave”.

**Targu Ocna:** 8 November 2012: Municipality ordered to withdraw honorary citizenship granted to Valeriu Gafencu, a convicted wartime fascist, dubbed “the Saint of Prisons” by the church.

**Timisoara:** 30 January 2013: The Autonomous Nationalists, a small far-right group, proposed paying €300 (£254) to any Roma woman volunteering for sterilisation. Their blog was immediately shut down.

**Bucharest:** 8 June 2013: The Romanian far-right organised ‘The March for Normality’, led by ND to counterattack gay parade, claiming Romania will be transformed “into the spearhead of the homosexual movement in Europe”.

**Constanta** (24 June) and **Alba Iulia** (14 September): ND staged the march against regional government reorganisation, arguing that it is against the “national, unitary spirit that the country was built on” and “will encourage separatist and autonomist actions by the Hungarians in Harghita and Covasna” (two of the counties in the so-called “Székely Land”).

Some of its members are known for violent, unprovoked attacks against non-Christian Orthodox religious minorities, homosexuals and ethnic Hungarians.

■ In February, ND accepted an invitation from Golden Dawn in Greece and participated in the “50,000 strong traditional march in memory of the martyrs murdered by the Turks in 1996 on the island of Imia”.

■ This summer ND boasted about receiving a visit by more than a dozen activists from the German nazi Freie Kameradschaften.

■ Every 13 September ND celebrates the birth of fascist Iron Guard founder Corneliu Codreanu.

### Media

**Romania Mare:** the PRM's weekly magazine since 1990. Formerly, Tudor's mouthpiece, it is noted for its strident antisemitism. Some ND activists run the Romanian “Sange si Onoare” (Blood and Honour) blog and periodical magazine with the same name. The blog's focus is on the “myth of the Holocaust”, the “heroic figure and leadership of Corneliu Zelea Codreanu”.



# New British Union

THE NEW BRITISH UNION is the brainchild of the former Scottish BNP organiser Gary Raikes who is hoping to revive the fortunes of his hero wartime fascist leader Oswald Mosley and the British Union of Fascists.

Raikes, a former BNP parliamentary candidate who lives in Aberdeenshire, was a key Griffithite while he held the position of BNP Scotland organiser.

Leaving that position after four years, Raikes took up the role of BNP national youth organiser where he oversaw a re-launch of the BNP's youth wing (YBNP). He was handpicked for the job because of his military background – he had worked as a part-time officer for the Army Cadet Force training youngsters between 12 and 18.

The position of national youth organiser turned out to be short-lived and Raikes left the BNP in 2011 to take up the position of Scottish organiser with the fledgling Britain First party, set up by the former BNP money man Jim Dowson.

At the start of 2013 Raikes



announced he was resigning from Britain First and would take a step back from politics until the day a new Oswald Mosley was discovered. His recent obsession with the founder of the BUF had caused alarm within his circle

of friends, with some openly questioning Raikes' mental health.

However, it didn't take Raikes long to find his new fascist messiah: Gary Raikes himself was to be the new leader of The Blackshirts.

## 'The Leader'

The New British Union was initially launched as little more than just a website and marketing idea. Raikes was quick to launch his own line of expensive merchandise, ranging from peaked hats,

## POLITICS OF THE NBU

THE NEW BRITISH UNION looks longingly back to the bad old days of Jew hatred when Oswald Mosley was stomping the streets with his British Union of Fascists.

Members are actively encouraged to dress in the paramilitary black shirt uniform worn by Mosley and his thugs in the BUF. However, due to the 1936 public order act which forbids the wearing of political uniforms in any public place or public meeting, Raikes and his merry men are all dressed up with nowhere to go and are restricted to wearing

their uniforms at homes or at private meetings.

The NBU claims that it is: "A political community organisation for the dispossessed and disillusioned from all political parties. Whose aim is to bring people together in the struggle against the out of touch political class who only represent themselves, rich bankers and industrialists".

Gary Raikes and the NBU have no problem with labelling themselves as fascist either, yet oddly claim that that doesn't equate to antisemitism, even though their spiritual leader Mosley







labelled him a crank and an embarrassment.

On the NBU website, a long list of names began to appear, supposedly of people prepared to be organisers and officials brought in to support 'The Leader's' ego trip. The reality was most of these people had merely contacted Raikes for information regarding the NBU and unbeknown to them had been added as Black shirt organisers for the area where they lived.

In October Gary Raikes and The NBU held their first national conference in Milton Keynes where £25 insured your entry as a delegate complete with mandatory cap badge, arm band, black shirt and hot buffet.

Raikes considered it the place to be, with most of the delegates dressed to the nines in their wannabe fascist attire. However, with only around 25 black shirts in attendance and with one of those being the veteran neo-nazi and police informant Eddie Stampton, things didn't turn out quite the way it was planned.

arm bands and – let's not forget – the obligatory black shirts.

He began to appear in full black shirt regalia and to call himself 'The Leader' much to the amusement of some sections of the far right who

Oswald Mosley inspects proper blackshirts in 1936



spoke openly about "The Jewish Question"

A website dedicated to the memory of Oswald Mosley and the BUF describes The New British Union as an "internet-based political party for the well intentioned but politically naïve." Another takes a stronger stance, labelling Raikes and his party as "nutters" and saying Raikes has "taken to fascism like a transvestite takes to women's clothing. He cannot wait to adorn himself with all the trappings of uniformed fascism that more sane people would shun".

## KEY PEOPLE

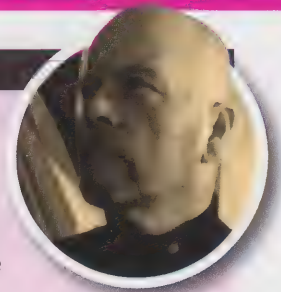
### GARY RAIKES

#### 'The Leader'

Originally from Bristol, Raikes now lives in Turriff, Aberdeenshire.

Raikes was sacked from his part-time position as a cadet leader with the armed forces once his far right politics were exposed.

He is now believed to work for Scottish Water.



### ANDY BLACKHOUSE

#### NBU Policies Officer

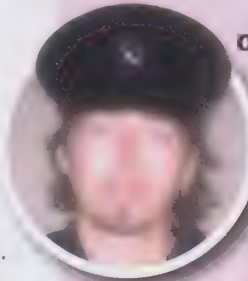
Andy Blackhouse became the NBU Policies Officer after the politics of his predecessor Matthew Gill was exposed in a newspaper.

### JOHN RYAN

#### NBU Head of Security

South African born John Ryan was promoted to Head of NBU Security in April 2013.

He has previously served with The Royal Air Force.



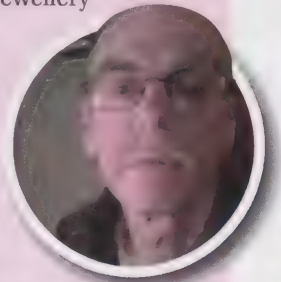
### CHARLIE FOURNEL

#### NBU District Officer

27 year old Charlie Fournel lives in Halesworth, Suffolk and describes himself as a freelance writer.

Fournel, who is also the regional organiser for Suffolk, was previously a supporter of the BNP and UKIP.

He works for the family jewellery business run by his father.

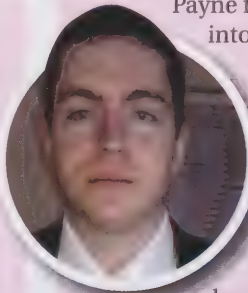


### RICHARD PAYNE

#### NBU Officers Rep

Richard Payne from Fyvie, Aberdeenshire is the former Scottish BNP Treasurer and was a BNP parliamentary candidate in 2010 standing in the Banff and Buchan constituency.

Payne followed Raikes into Britain First and again into the NBU



### RYAN HUGHES/RYAN WILSON

#### NBU Webmaster

Using two names, Ryan Hughes aka Ryan Wilson originates from the Thanet area of Kent and is the new NBU webmaster.

He was previously linked to the EDL and has been on some of their demonstrations.

**For information on other hate groups visit**  
**[www.hopenothate.org.uk/hate-groups/](http://www.hopenothate.org.uk/hate-groups/)**



# Bradford comes together for

By Paul Meszaros

'TOGETHER' proclaimed the headline in Bradford's *Telegraph and Argus* paper the day the EDL come to Bradford. For the EDL it was a miserable day: they were kettled by police, wet from the persistent Yorkshire drizzle and confronted with a city unified in its defiance of their message.

Bradford has long been overshadowed by the riots of 2001. These were dark days when a handful of NF racists were able to provoke disturbances whose subsequent media images dragged the city's name through the mud. The BNP would seek to capitalise on these events in the local elections that followed and were able, to some degree, to exploit the mistrust and anger which existed.

The approach of HOPE not hate from the beginning has always been based on the understanding that to defeat the racists it is necessary to win the battle for hearts and minds. Our approach, although often hard-hitting, was based not at shouting 'nazi' or 'fascist', but engaging with individuals and communities and by posing a positive vision of a vibrant, modern, multi-cultural Britain.

In 2011 when the EDL last came to town, HOPE not hate was able to launch Bradford Together as a rallying call to stop them marching through our inner city. We collected more than 12,000 signatures with the result that the march was banned. That campaign ended in a peace vigil attended by more than 1,000 Bradfordians, including activists from Bradford Women for Peace who played a major role in keeping the city calm.

The lessons of this approach have been successfully built



'Together' headline in Bradford's *Telegraph and Argus*

upon every time the EDL and far right rear their ugly heads. A coalition has been built around the Bradford Together banner which included Bradford TUC, Unison, Bradford Council for Mosques, Bradford Women for Peace, Muslim Women's Council, Bradford College Students Union, as well as HOPE not hate activists

and many other groups and individuals. A clear consensus emerged about the need to engage with as many Bradfordians as possible and to hold a celebratory event the day before the EDL visited. Everyone opposed the idea of a counter-demonstration, viewing it as dangerous and possibly counter-productive.





# a message of hope



distributed via churches, mosques, temples, community centres, door-to-door and in the city centre. Cars could be seen driving round displaying cards and each signature represented another conversation about the issues.

The approach had cross party support as well as the support of the local council, but a crucial aspect of its success was the support received from the *Telegraph* and *Argus* newspaper which covered the campaign in a constructive and sympathetic manner. All this work allowed the idea that Bradford would remain peaceful and dignified, and we approached the planned EDL march with a sense of hope.

Our counter event itself was started by the Women for Peace dressing the town in green ribbon, singing and dancing in Centenary Square, and creating an atmosphere of hope and peace.

Bana Gora, of Bradford Women for Peace, said: "This is a diverse and complicated city which does not need hooligans or extremists spreading suspicion and fear. The MWC fully supported the Bradford Women for Peace event (Bradford Together)."

Pride of place on a 'wall of hope' went to a message written by Bradford's Children in Care Council which sat above thousands of names of those who had signed up online. Growing crowds were enthralled by street entertainers and fed by Bradford College students, who cooked an array of dishes representing all corners of the world.

The day was finished off by a multi-faith prayer for peace.

The response to the card and its message by Bradfordians was overwhelming and decisive. The message sent out from the City and its citizens was clear and irresistible. Bradford declared we will not be divided and we will not fall for racist provocation. And the 'keep calm' message from the council and the police was clear, too – it was business as usual on this last shopping day before Eid.

Conservative Councillor Dale Smith said of the event: "Standing Together on Friday evidenced the bonhomie and growing mutual respect across all our many diverse communities. I am proud that a postcard from me was one of many among the many somewhere on the Wall of Hope."

A massive police operation ensured the safety of Bradford and the EDL came and went without creating any provocation. Bradford Council for Mosques provided almost 1,000 curries to feed police officers who were seen as defenders of the city. The council leadership played a pivotal role throughout, supporting our initiatives and ensuring everything was in place to defend Bradford. Deputy leader Cllr Imran Hussain had an opinion piece in the *Argus* condemning the EDL and calling for a peaceful and dignified response. He questioned a law which allows freedom to protest but does little to protect the freedom of those the EDL would abuse, malign and attack. This theme was echoed

in a letter sent by council leader Dave Green to the Prime Minister urging the government to look again at legislation surrounding race hate.

He said: "We showed that the EDL are not wanted in Bradford and worked hard to ensure that the City was open for business as usual."

The next stage was to find a way to reach out and engage with the people of Bradford. 20,000 postcards were printed with a simple statement condemning racism and the EDL, which people were invited to sign and leave comments on. The cards were then used to build a wall of hope at the event. The response to the cards was overwhelming – in fact we ran out! Cards were

Wall of HOPE





# Voice of courage

Zrinka Bralo is a former journalist who fled Sarajevo as a refugee and who now works with refugees as executive director of the Migrant Refugee and Communities Forum. She is a commissioner with the Independent Asylum Commission and has been awarded the Voices Of Courage Award by the Women's Refugee Commission. *Dave Porter* caught up with her on a trip to New York.



(left) Zrinka Bralo at the 2011 Voices of Courage Awards  
Photo: Women's Refugee Commission



### How has your experience as a refugee affected your campaigning work and journalism?

Becoming a refugee was the most difficult experience of my life after surviving the war. The often conflicting combination of survivor's guilt and the will to survive shifted my perspective and forced me to speak out about the injustices I experienced. And then, once I had started, there was no turning back. The intensity of the losses I had suffered and the huge changes in my life and my identity definitely produced high levels of empathy towards other people going through a similar experience. Being in exile is such a powerful experience but it's so remote from the everyday lives of people in normal societies.

I was most affected by the fact that I was failed by the system that should have been protecting me. And then I started to meet people who were treated even worse than I had been. So for me, there was almost no turning back to journalism because I felt I could make a difference to other refugees and that required becoming involved as an advocate rather than just reporting on the issues as a journalist.

### How do you view the current debate on 'benefits tourism' and the crackdown on immigrants?

My main concern is that by using the smokescreen of this misinformed and negative public conversation about immigration, we're not talking about the real issues of concern to the society. Wishing immigrants away is not going to solve our housing shortage or improve education. The reality is that immigrants come to the UK to work and they work hard. They're young and healthy and they tend to do the jobs with low pay and poor conditions, they are oppressed, have no voice and are never asked to contribute their point of view in this kind of debate. There are many sections of our economy that would collapse without immigrant labour. We must make sure that these people's basic rights are protected.

### You are rightly proud of your work with the Independent Asylum Commission – what changes did it bring about?

As a commissioner with the IAC, I took part in 18 months of hearings on the UK protection system, resulting in the production of four in-depth reports and 180 recommendations on how to make the protection system better. We listened to anyone and everyone who had something to say about

asylum, including three former Home Secretaries, civil servants, asylum seekers and refugees, professionals who support refugees, and so on. We even invited Sir Andrew Green of Migration Watch to have his say.

It was the most comprehensive review of the UK protection system ever carried out. We were able to engage in a conversation with the UK Borders Agency, which was a first and resulted in the beginning of a relationship with a section of the civil service that had

*“What everyone can do is befriend or mentor an asylum seeker, spend some time with them, show them around their town or city, help them learn English and, most importantly, treat them like human beings.”*

previously been unresponsive to the public. Although we had very different points of view, Citizens UK were able to continue negotiations with UKBA and hold them accountable for their treatment of asylum seekers. A key achievement was the Citizens' campaign to end the detention of children on which we worked with many other organizations. The IAC also produced a comprehensive blueprint for a better protection system in the UK which remains relevant in the debate today.

### What can people do on a personal level to help the plight of asylum seekers and refugees?

Refugees and especially asylum seekers are very isolated. They're not allowed to work or go to school, and they have to survive on £35 a week (which is not paid in cash). Many of them have to live in accommodation which is often of a very low standard and overcrowded. This, combined with the uncertainty of their immigration status, affects them terribly, so they need to find things to do and people to do them with, to help them through this very difficult time.

What everyone can do is befriend or mentor an asylum seeker, spend some time with them, show them around their town or city, help them learn English and, most importantly, treat them like human beings.

### Do you think the recent tragedy in Lampedusa will signal a change in the way Europe treats those seeking asylum?

I'm pessimistic because Europe is so preoccupied with the economic crisis and its internal issues to look at the problem of human trafficking and its underlying causes with the seriousness and urgency that this problem deserves.

### Is there a gender element to the issue of asylum and how important it is that women's voices are heard?

80% of the world's refugee population are women. Women don't start wars but they are the ones who overwhelmingly have to deal with the consequences. And yet, in most Western protections systems, the persecution of women and gender-based violence are not treated sensitively or taken seriously. And then women are subjected to further humiliation when they seek asylum.

When I received the Voices of Courage Award I was really humbled and inspired. With the help of my colleagues in the UK, I founded the Woman on the Move Awards, which recognise the outstanding contributions that migrant and refugee women make to British society.

### How do you view the future for those like yourself working with refugees and asylum seekers?

I'm both optimistic and pessimistic about the future. My pessimism is the result of increasingly hostile legislation and the hardening of attitudes towards those seeking protection. Look at what is happening in Syria – two million people have been forced to seek refuge in the neighbouring countries and the British Government has not yet offered to provide protection to any of them. That is very disheartening, but then I get constructively angry which drives me to do something about it.

The reason I am optimistic is because I do what I do, and I meet amazing survivors from all over the world. I also meet the other side of the British public, the welcoming and open-minded people who want to help and who stand for traditional British values of human rights and equality. To me, they are equally inspiring, but sadly they don't get much air time.



# CELEBRATING 10 YEARS OF HOPE



Founded in 2004 as an antidote to the hate promoted by the BNP, HOPE not hate celebrates our 10th anniversary in 2014. To help us celebrate this fantastic anniversary *Thompson's Solicitors* have sponsored our 2014 calendar, which celebrates each year of our campaign to undermine the BNP at the ballot box.



**HOPE**  
not hate

## 2014 CALENDAR

Thompsons Solicitors is proud to sponsor the HOPE not hate 2014 Calendar

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